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Joint Roles With Australian, PNG Military in 1990's

*90OG0098A Jakarta KOMPAS in Indonesian
7 Dec 89 p 4*

[Text] What are the roles of armed forces in the Asia-Pacific area in the 1990's? Will the armed forces of nations in the region be worrying about internal instability, or external instability? Will there be changes in military functions and roles in the societies of each country?

Observations on these subjects were discussed in a recent 2-day conference (on 30 November and 1 December) on "Armed Forces in Asia and the Pacific: Prospects for the 1990's," held at the Australian National University (ANU) in Canberra.

The conference was opened by Australian Armed Forces Commander General Peter Gration. Other participants came from Indonesia, PNG [Papua New Guinea], Burma, Thailand, the Philippines, etc. General Soedibyo of the CSIS [Center for Strategic and International Studies] represented Indonesia.

The interesting aspects of the conference were papers presented by participants from PNG, Indonesia, and Australia. The papers made clear that military roles and functions in the three countries are quite different, owing to their different backgrounds, histories, and origins. Each nation needs its armed forces for a different reason.

Australia

General Gration presented the Australian view in his opening speech, focusing on Australia's future role. Gration saw differing armed forces roles in Australia, Southeast Asia, and the South Pacific and said that "changes do not imply lack of security."

In Southeast Asia, changes have strengthened stability. "We (Australia) hope to participate on an equal footing with modern and stable armed forces." Gration explained that Australia's defense posture has changed and that its forces are now self-sufficient.

General Gration said that in Asia and Southeast Asia there is now a shift of focus from armies to navies. Past emphasis was on armies, because internal security had not been stabilized and uprisings often occurred. This is no longer a problem, however, except in the Philippines. The focus on navies "reflects the emergence of demands and legal structures involving resources in offshore and sea areas." Gration also explained that navies have a bigger role because the region's economic progress needs security for shipping routes.

In the South Pacific, Australia's role is "to continue helping with expertise and capabilities in support of regional development. This includes ocean patrols, technical aid, and hydrographic surveys." Ocean resources,

Gration said, are the essence of life for South Pacific countries, but they themselves do not have the capability to protect these resources.

Australia is giving priority to helping with security of the seas for South Pacific nations, not only by patrolling but also by coordinating information with each country. Central to Australian aid is the patrol vessel project, under which eight South Pacific nations will operate 14 ships. Such assistance will not only enhance economic progress but will also "satisfy Australia's defense interests," since Australia has strategic interests. Its naval interests in the region will continue to expand, Gration said.

Prof Yaw Saffu, of Papua New Guinea University, said the PNG armed forces, or PNGDF [Papua New Guinea Defense Force], are in critical condition, because they were "inherited" from Australia and "were a part of Australian defense strategy." In his working paper, Saffu pictured the PNGDF as undisciplined and functionless.

Basically, the PNGDF played no role during the decolonization period. "In fact, Australia's efficient decolonization process gave no opportunity for an independence struggle," Prof Saffu said. At first glance, this may appear insignificant, but it has a prolonged effect. "The PNG army has no legends at all, and, unlike Indonesia, there have been no historic incidents the army can use for competition with civil institutions."

When PNG became an independent nation, its armed forces had 3,681 men. The structure of the PNGDF has not changed since independence, except for the composition of its officer corps. The PNGDF has not merely remained static but has in fact deteriorated. "In 1989, Melanesian culture and Wantokism have become stronger and have become the basis for conduct in military barracks in the place of military discipline and Australian military tradition," Prof Saffu said.

The PNG Constitutional Planning Committee (CPC) is "very doubtful about the relevance and financing of the PNGDF." Furthermore, the PNGDF is under the leadership of a civilian cabinet that considers defense unimportant. So far, the cabinet has declined to increase the defense budget. Thus, it was no surprise when the PNG army this year went on a rampage to demand higher wages. The civilian PNG cabinet felt existing funds should be used for the country's much needed development, however.

Prof Saffu said, "Contrary to the views of people like Sundhausen and Mench, who espoused limited institutionalization of political functions, such as providing only for a parliament and a cabinet, all military jobs are determined by the cabinet, and it is here where confusion begins to emerge." For example, in the selection of PNGDF leadership much depends on who has power, a situation that weakens stability.

Besides the shortage of funds, the vague position of the armed forces in the PNG constitution makes the

PNGDF's role unclear. A PNG white paper on defense policy stated, "The purpose of the armed forces in the coming century will be at most for the handling of internal threats, undisciplined actions in the community, insurgency, subversion, and terrorism." The PNGDF will have no external defense role, according to the white paper.

The decisions reported in the white paper were not accepted by many PNGDF officers, who feel that "internal security" is a police task. This view became clear when the Defense Study Board met after the rampage of February 1989. Many PNGDF officers criticized the use of the army for "small-scale emergencies," saying that the army was not trained for police roles.

It was also pointed out in the meeting, according to Prof Saffu, that the "subordination of military personnel to police officials will probably destroy the military command structure and increasingly hurt police morale."

Many soldiers became so dissatisfied that they resigned from the PNGDF rather than conduct a coup d'etat against the PNG civilian government. This will not resolve anything, however, because the PNG now has "reached the point of being ungovernable," Prof Saffu said.

Indonesia

In his working paper entitled "The Indonesian Armed Forces: Their Prospects in the 1990's," Gen Soedibyo described the origins of the Indonesian military. Unlike PNG and Australia, Indonesia's armed forces were born of necessity, out of the struggle for independence. Thus, from the very beginning ABRI [Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia] was plunged into politics.

Gen Soedibyo said there were two principles underlying ABRI participation in politics. First was the "conviction personified in Commander-in-Chief Soedirman that independence could be won only with the support of the army, for otherwise we (Indonesia) would have had to compromise our basic beliefs." Second, Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution have always served as a background.

Soedibyo also discussed in his paper the restructuring of ABRI, including the combining of the Department of Defense and the ABRI General Staff in 1966. The purpose of combining them was to "reduce the headquarters budget, shorten the line of command, and promote flexibility and mobility, etc."

Regeneration

"The appointment of General Try Sutrisno as Armed Forces commander was the final point in the ABRI regeneration process. The process began in the sixties and early seventies, when ABRI leaders had to pass their jobs to the generation that followed the 1945 Generation," Soedibyo said.

Soedibyo feels the present ABRI generation is "not as emotional as its predecessor and is not as willing to take

unnecessary risks." Nevertheless, perceptions as to ABRI's role have not changed in the regeneration process, Soedibyo explained.

The 1990's will be interesting, because the current ABRI generation will begin retirement. "Officers of the new generation, who started their military careers under the New Order, may have their own perceptions of ABRI operations in society." Soedibyo added that security in the Asia-Pacific region is a joint responsibility and that dialogue and understanding constitute the cheapest and most effective solution. Defense is not now merely an armed forces affair, since the economy and stable diplomacy play important roles, too.

Portugal Denounces Timor Gap Agreement

90OG0099C Jakarta *KOMPAS* in Indonesian
14 Dec 89 p 1

[Text] Canberra, Wednesday [13 December]—The Portuguese Government on Monday recalled its ambassador to Australia, Jose Luis, for consultations and as a strong protest against the Australia-Indonesia agreement on a Timor Gap zone of cooperation.

Meanwhile, the Portuguese Foreign Ministry summoned the Australian ambassador to Lisbon, Stuart Hume, to present a note of protest against the agreement, which was signed last Monday [11 December].

Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans, who was one of the signers of the Timor Gap Agreement, said the Portuguese protest did not surprise him at all, however. He had expected it, because Portugal still claims East Timor as its colony.

"The protest will not affect our position, and we will strongly resist any protest that may arise," Evans said in Brussels, as quoted by the Australian Foreign Ministry. Portugal and Australia are two of the 24 countries now meeting in Brussels to discuss aid to Poland and Hungary.

The Timor Gap Cooperation Agreement was signed on Monday by Foreign Minister Evans and Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas aboard an Australian Air Force Boeing 707 as it flew over the Timor Gap, which covers an area of 61,000 square kilometers.

Portuguese Denunciation

Through its foreign ministry, Portugal immediately denounced the agreement, however, as a blatant and glaring violation of international law and the UN Charter. "The agreement violates the legal right of self-determination by the East Timor people and their sovereignty over their natural resources," a Portuguese Foreign Ministry statement declared.

The Portuguese Government also said that a copy of the protest will be presented to the Australian Foreign Ministry and to UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuelar. It is difficult for Portugal to submit the protest to Indonesia, because relations between Jakarta and Lisbon were severed in 1975.

The Portuguese protest against the Timor Gap Agreement is based on the assumption that East Timor is still a Portuguese colony and is not founded at all on present political and territorial realities. East Timor was integrated into Indonesian territory in 1976.

In the accord signed on Monday, Australia and Indonesia agreed on the exploitation of oil and gas resources in the Timor Gap, which lies between Indonesia and Australia. Under the agreement, the Timor Gap zone of cooperation is divided into three sectors: sector A, with 35,000 square kilometers; sector B, with 21,000 square kilometers; and sector C, with 5,900 square kilometers.

Sector A, which lies between sectors B and C, will be jointly exploited under a 50-50 production sharing arrangement. Australia will work sector B, which borders Australian territory, but will give 16 percent of production to Indonesia. Indonesia will work sector C, which adjoins Indonesian territory, and will give 10 percent of production to Australia.

Suharto Warns Paper Industry To Conserve Forests

90OG0101D Jakarta KOMPAS in Indonesian
15 Dec 89 p 7

[Text] Lhok Seumawe, KOMPAS—Development of the pulp and paper industry must not hurt forest conservation, President Suharto warned as he inaugurated eight pulp and paper mills centered at PT [Limited Company] Kraft Aceh in Lhok Seumawe on Thursday afternoon [14 December].

According to the head of state, forests are important not only as sources of industrial raw materials but also for the life of the nation and all mankind. Tropical forests, especially, are the lungs of the earth. "Therefore, we must always conserve forests while we develop industry," the president declared.

The eight mills, which employ 6,370 workers, are scattered throughout Aceh, North Sumatra, West Java, East Java, and Riau. Five of them are new mills, and three are expansions. Altogether they have absorbed investments totaling \$757 million and have installed capacities of 165,000 tons of pulp and 317,000 tons of paper per year.

The mills are as follows:

PT [Limited Company] Kertas Kraft Aceh (a new PMDN [domestic capital investment] project), with an investment of more than \$424 million. It has a capacity for producing 150,000 tons of paper for cement bags and 165,000 tons of liner board per year.

PT Inti Indorayon Utama (a new PMDN project), located at Porsea, North Sumatra, with an investment of more than 322 billion rupiah. It will produce 165,000 tons of pulp per year.

PT Wajar Surya Wisesa (a new PMDN project) at Bekasi, West Java, producing 70,000 tons of various kinds of paper per year through an investment of more than 50.7 billion rupiah.

PT Surya Zig Zag (a new PMDN project) at Kediri, East Java. Through an investment of \$60 million, it will produce 6,000 tons of various types of paper (including cigarette paper) per year. Stockholders include PT Gudang Garam.

PT Indah Kiat Pulp and Paper Corporation (a PMA [foreign capital investment] expansion) located at Perawang, Riau, with an installed capacity of 45,000 tons of printing paper per year through an investment of \$36 million.

PT Panca Usahatama Paramita (a new PMDN project) at Tangerang, West Java, producing 7,000 tons of tissue and board per year.

PT Surabaya Mekabox, Ltd., (a PMDN expansion) located at Gresik, East Java, producing 21,000 tons of draft liner and medium liner per year through an investment of almost 8 billion rupiah.

PT Unipa Daya (a PMDN expansion), located at Tangerang, producing 3,000 tons of tissue annually through an investment of almost 8.3 billion rupiah.

Advantages

President Suharto said that Indonesia has a number of advantages that enable the pulp and paper industry to develop rapidly. For one thing, Indonesia is located in a tropical region with very extensive forests. Furthermore, the mills generally are located near the coasts so that their output can be shipped easily. From the technology standpoint, we have skilled workers and a machinery industry that meets most demands for factory machinery and equipment.

Export markets for pulp and paper are wide open throughout the world. It is hard for the present pulp and paper producing countries to expand any further, whereas international demand is always rising. For these reasons, the president feels that the business world's choice to build pulp and paper mills in Indonesia is appropriate.

"Pulp and paper have become very important to the present level of human progress and civilization. It is now hard for us to visualize a society without paper," the head of state said.

According to Minister of Industry Hartarto, the operations of the eight paper mills will save more than \$207.4 million in foreign exchange every year, and their export revenues will be more than \$165.9 million. He pointed

out that Indonesia is now self-sufficient in paper. We ourselves can produce every type of paper we need and can even export paper. The exception is paper for currency, which is still imported.

People attending the inauguration ceremony yesterday included MPR/DPR [People's Consultative Council/Parliament] Chairman Kharis Suhud, Coordinating Minister for Economics, Finance, Industry, and Development Control Radius Prawiro, Minister of Forestry Hasrul Harahap, Armed Forces Commander General Try Sutrisno, and Junior Minister/Cabinet Secretary Sayadilah Mursid.

Suharto Encourages Nuclear Technology

90OG0101B Jakarta BISNIS INDONESIA in Indonesian 12 Dec 89 p 1

[Text] Serpong, West Java, BISNIS—We should no longer be hesitant about the application of nuclear technology as long as it is planned carefully, President Suharto said yesterday.

The president noted that there is risk in the use of nuclear technology, just as there is in the use of other technologies. Suharto said that energy development should not be too dependent on petroleum, which is limited in quantity.

The head of state said this when he inaugurated several laboratories belonging to BATAN [National Atomic Energy Agency], LIPI [Indonesian Science Council], and BPPT [Body for the Study and Application of Technology] at the Serpong PUSPITEK [Science and Technology Research Center] at Tangerang, West Java.

"We must develop other sources of energy, such as water, coal, natural gas, and geothermal energy. If these are not enough, we have no alternative to giving serious consideration to nuclear energy," the president explained.

Research shows that Java alone will need an estimated additional 27,000 MW [megawatts] of electricity by 2015. After careful calculation of the use of all energy sources, such as water, geothermal energy, natural gas, and coal, it is estimated that at least an additional 7,000 MW of electricity will be needed.

It is hoped that this shortage of electric power can be met through improved Indonesian capabilities in the mastery of nuclear energy. "I ask that we prepare ourselves in the best possible way for using nuclear energy in case it is actually needed," the president said.

Minister of Research and Technology B.J. Habibie said in his speech that the six laboratories being inaugurated have received aid from the governments of Japan, the Netherlands, the United States, and Canada (Atomic Energy of Canada, Ltd.) for a cyclotron at the Nuclear and Engineering Equipment Center and for the BATAN Informatics Development Center.

West Java Governor Yogie S.M. expressed his hope that from the community around the Serpong PUSPITEK will come forth new scientists capable of even more advanced discoveries and technologies.

GOLKAR Outlines Strategy for 1992 Election

*90OG0098C Jakarta KOMPAS in Indonesian
21 Dec 89 p 1*

[Text] Jakarta, KOMPAS—GOLKAR has a dual objective in the 1992 celebration of democracy: Win the general elections, and share in the responsibility for improving the quality of elections.

GOLKAR DPP [Central Executive Council] Chairman Drs Jacob Tobing, MPA [Master of Public Administration], said this in a meeting with the press on Wednesday morning [20 December] at the GOLKAR office in Slipi, Jakarta. Present at the meeting were H. Anang Adenansi and H. Moh. Barier, SH [Master of Laws], from the General Elections Victory Campaign Department, plus Drs Agus Tagor from the GOLKAR DPP Information Department.

Jacob Tobing reported in detail on working meetings that the DPP held with GOLKAR Level I DPD's [Regional Executive Councils] for discussion of the projected 1992 election map. The meeting with the Eastern Region DPD was held on 4 and 5 December at Ujung Pandang and with the Western Region DPD on 18 and 19 December in Jakarta.

He said that in drawing up the projected 1992 election map GOLKAR is giving consideration to input from both Jakarta and regional cadres, besides meeting with GOLKAR leaders in the field.

At Least the Same

Jacob Tobing revealed that the target for the 1992 elections is at least the same percentage as in 1987, which was 73.02 percent (60 million votes in 1987, and an expected 67 million in 1992). The estimated 7 million additional votes include young people using their right to vote for the first time.

GOLKAR leaders realize that this big goal will face a serious challenge, but they are confident the target will be exceeded.

To justify his confidence, Jacob Tobing said that GOLKAR organizational and cadre consolidation at all levels is increasingly strong. In connection with this, upgrading has been conducted for functional and territorial cadres. "Headquarters has been overwhelmed in providing materials for them," he said.

His confidence is also founded on the assessment that GOLKAR members serving in representational bodies are of high quality. "The presence of GOLKAR, in both 'managerial' and 'acceptational' [as published] ways, will ensure repetition of its 1987 success," he declared.

Eliminate Suspicion

Jacob Tobing and Moh. Barier feel that the regulations on administering the elections meet requirements for a celebration of democracy conducted directly, publicly, freely, and by secret ballot. GOLKAR so far has no intention of changing the election law and is flexible as far as implementation regulations are concerned. GOLKAR has no objection to modifying regulations when deemed necessary.

Jacob Tobing said further that GOLKAR will work hard to eliminate things that could cause suspicion on the part of sociopolitical organizations participating in the elections (OPP's). GOLKAR will therefore endeavor to raise the "rationality" level of the campaign.

He said also that GOLKAR agrees that the OPP's should take part in the oversight of voter registration. GOLKAR agrees, too, that observers at balloting and tallying sites need not be from those villages. This means that if there is no observer from one of the OPP's in a village, an observer may be brought in from another village in the same level II region.

GOLKAR is also determined to eliminate any impression that it causes problems for observers from the OPP's. "It is not true that we cause problems for observers, but difficulty in obtaining observers is an infrastructure matter," Tobing said.

Rudini: No Presidential Ambitions

90OG0098B Jakarta KOMPAS in Indonesian
14 Dec 89 p 12

[Text] "I am a Muslim, and in the name of Allah I say that I have no ambition to be president. I don't say this as a political platitude, for I actually have no ambition to be president," said Minister of Home Affairs Rudini, who tomorrow turns 60. "If I had such an ambition, I would have to follow procedures and rules, since I am a general. Simply wanting to be president isn't enough. There must also be 'funds and forces,'" added the former KSAD [chief of Army Staff] (1983-86) in an interview with KOMPAS yesterday.

He acknowledged having heard rumors that he would be nominated for president. "That's why I need to explain. Some people may be disappointed with my statement. It's necessary for me to make the statement, however, because, in the name of Allah, I have no such ambition," he continued.

Sudomo Comments on Presidential Succession

90OG0099A Jakarta KOMPAS in Indonesian
21 Dec 89 p 12

[Text] Jakarta, ANTARA—Coordinating Minister for Politics and Security Sudomo said political leadership succession is now the issue of greatest concern in the minds of the Indonesian people.

"We have openly discussed this issue, which is one that has never arisen before," Admiral (retired) Sudomo said in his remarks as guest speaker at an Indonesian Executive Circle luncheon in the Udayana Room at the ANTARA Building, Jakarta, on Wednesday [20 December].

Sudomo did not appear very enthusiastic in his reply to a participant's question about "how the public should discuss succession or presidential ambitions wisely."

"It would be better for me not to respond, because I know that reporters like to trap people with such questions. I don't want to be trapped," he said, laughing.

Sudomo asked who would not like to be president. He himself enjoys being president, he said, "president of the Indonesian Golf Association for 9 years."

The interesting issue of succession arose several months ago among the public and in legislative and executive circles.

President Suharto himself had to explain to the press how succession will be handled according to the constitution and existing regulations and directives.

In the last 2 weeks, interesting rumors of presidential ambitions have been heard. Talk about this arose after Minister of Home Affairs Rudini declared that he had no ambition to be president, in spite of the fact that the elections are still 3 years away.

Rudini's statement received extensive response from the press, which published comments from a number of people, including the coordinating minister for politics and security himself and DPR/MPR [Parliament/People's Consultative Council] Chairman Kharis Suhud.

Sudomo explained earlier that no Indonesian citizen was prohibited from having ambition, even the ambition to be the number-one person in the republic.

With a different view, Kharis Suhud said the "presidential ambition" rumor is merely a joke and does not need to be commented on.

Sudomo explained to participants, who were mostly foreigners, that general elections have been conducted four times in accordance with the constitution: in 1971, 1977, 1982, and 1987. Indonesia is now preparing for the 1992 elections, he said, adding that the regeneration of military and civilian leadership has been progressing without hitch.

He also said the Indonesian people have reached a national consensus on how to elect the president, i.e., through the MPR.

Bank Indonesia Reports Increase in Personal Savings

90OG0099B Jakarta KOMPAS in Indonesian
21 Dec 89 p 3

[Text] Batam, ANGKATAN BERSENJATA—As of the end of September 1989, about 24.4 million of Indonesia's 170 million people had deposited money in various

types of bank savings accounts, Bank Indonesia Director Binhadi said last week at Batam at a program for the 1989 drawing for TABANAS/TASKA [Savings for National Development/Term Insurance Savings] prizes.

Of those savers, 20.3 million have deposited 1.682 trillion rupiah in TABANAS/TASKA accounts.

Bank savings awareness now continues to grow and is better than when the government first promoted savings through use of TABANAS/TASKA.

"When TABANAS/TASKA accounts were first introduced in 1971, new savers numbered only 887,000 and deposits totaled 5 billion rupiah. By 1989, however, the number of savers grew to 20.3 million, and savings reached 1.682 trillion rupiah," Binhadi said.

The overall accumulation of funds by banks since the 1983 deregulation has been gratifying.

"Third-party funds gathered by banks rose from 12.3965 trillion rupiah in 1983 to 37.5097 trillion rupiah by the end of 1988, an average annual increase of 24.87 percent," he said.

Binhadi said credit provided by banks has continued to rise, from 15.299 trillion rupiah at the end of 1983 to 44.001 trillion rupiah by the end of 1988, an average increase of 23.65 percent per year.

Package of 27 October

Measures taken by the government to mobilize community funds through PAKTO 27 [Package of 27 October] have also had gratifying results, as shown by the fact that bank deposits are continuing to grow.

At the end of October 1988, total third-party funds in banks amounted to only 36.9166 trillion rupiah, but by the end of August 1989 deposits had reached 44.910 trillion rupiah, an increase of 22 percent in 10 months.

Savings accounts alone totaled 1.916 trillion rupiah by 21.6 million savers at the end of October 1988. By the end of August 1989, total savings were 3.23 trillion rupiah by 24.4 million savers.

As third-party funds have grown, credit provided to the community has also risen, from 42.715 trillion rupiah at the end of October 1988 to 54.365 trillion rupiah by the end of August 1989, Binhadi said.

Aibar Durin, director of the North Sumatra Branch of Bank Indonesia, said that there are 2,416,193 savings account numbers in this drawing. Aibar is coordinator of TABANAS/TASKA prize drawings for Medan Region I, which includes the provinces of Aceh, North Sumatra, West Sumatra, and Riau.

According to Aibar, the number of savers in the 29th [as published] regional drawing at Batam has increased from last year's total of 2,109,478, and savings deposits have risen from 157.29269 trillion rupiah to 180.31507 trillion rupiah.

Prominent Economist Predicts Continued Growth in 1990

90OG0101C Jakarta KOMPAS in Indonesian
15 Dec 89 p 1

[Text] Jakarta, KOMPAS—Indonesia's rate of economic growth in 1989 was a little more than 6 percent. The rate of growth of the gross domestic product (GDP) was 6.2 percent, and the rate of growth of the gross domestic income (GDI) reached 6.5 percent. Economic growth in 1990 is expected to be even higher at 6.5 to 7 percent. In fact, if there is no hindrance, next year's economic growth is certain to be at the 7 percent mark.

Prof Sumitro Djojohadikusumo, general chairman of IKPN (Association of Government Employee Cooperatives), said this at the opening of the IKPN conference in Jakarta on Thursday [14 December].

The Indonesian economist also said that considering existing opportunities and room to maneuver, as well as problems, prospects for 1989 are even better than they were in 1989 and before.

In fact, Sumitro added, as long as the economy experiences no surprises or disturbances from outside the economy, and as long as the government consistently maintains its policies for handling current distortions, it is very probable that Indonesian economic growth next year will be at the 7 percent mark.

"As a general conclusion, I can say that for at least the first 2 years of REPELITA V [Fifth 5-Year Development Plan], i.e., 1989-90 and 1990-91, the annual economic growth rate will exceed the government's REPELITA V target of an average of 5 percent," Sumitro said.

Stronger

In international transactions, Indonesia's status as measured by its balance of payments is now stronger than in previous years. The current transaction deficit in our 1989-90 balance of payments is expected to be \$1.7 billion to \$1.8 billion, which is much less than the initial estimate of \$2.4 billion.

Sumitro added that when transfers of capital are included the balance of payments in fiscal 1989-90 will show an overall surplus of about \$700 million. This will strengthen the position of foreign exchange reserves, in a general way as well as for sums directly controlled by Bank Indonesia.

Sumitro spoke for almost 2 hours to the conference, which is being attended by IKPN members from all over Indonesia and which is to last until Friday [15 December]. He noted that the debt service ratio (DSR), which is the ratio of debt principal and installment payments to annual export revenues, climbed to 37 percent in 1989.

With better conditions in 1990-91, however, the ratio can be reduced to less than 35 percent, Sumitro said.

"The ratio should be steadily reduced so that it approaches 25 percent by the end of REPELITA V. This can be achieved if, among other things, the government will continue to manage balance of payments policies closely and carefully, especially policies on foreign exchange control."

Sumitro, formerly minister of trade, minister of research and technology, and minister of finance, said further that, based on the 1989 consumer price index, inflation is at 6.5 percent. The trend for 1990 is toward 7 percent. In the first 2 years of REPELITA V, therefore, inflation will exceed the 5 percent level that the government projected as an annual average for REPELITA V.

This trend needs careful attention. According to Sumitro, this level of inflation is higher than in other ASEAN member countries, except the Philippines. This is not beneficial to the competitiveness of Indonesia's exports. It can also affect interest rates as a part of investment cost. It is also not beneficial to social stability, for inflationary pressures affect people with fixed incomes, such as civil service employees, members of ABRI, retirees, and private sector employees.

Obstacles

Sumitro said it cannot be denied that the implementation of deregulation and restructuring has encountered a number of administrative and institutional obstacles that have interfered with investment, production, and the distribution of goods and services.

This situation involves a number of departments at the national level as well as at regional levels I and II, where a number of obstacles, hindrances, and fees add to the cost of economic activity. Interisland transportation and communications, both land and air, are increasingly vital activities that form a basis for continued growth of exports and for domestic distribution of goods and services. Speed and dependability in the distribution of goods will support efforts to reduce inflation without excessively tight monetary policies.

The need for further steps in the real economic sectors, i.e., production, transportation, communications, trade, and distribution, is very pressing at this stage in order to stabilize the series of steps already taken in the financial and monetary sectors.

Sumitro said that, besides the aforementioned challenges and problems needing resolution in the short term, there are two basic, challenging structural problems to be faced in the short, medium, and long term. The first is urban unemployment, which affects workers 15 to 24 years old with SLTP [junior high school] and SLTA [high school] educations. The second is the increasing demand for land from competing spheres: farming, industry, and settlements.

The government is aware of these problems. "We all hope their resolution will not be based entirely on formal

law but will be undergirded by wise approaches and solutions that also take social justice into consideration," Sumitro said.

International Economy

Sumitro said the expansion, or "boom" period, that existed in the United States from 1982 to 1988 began a reversal in 1989. U.S. economic growth, which reached 3.9 percent in 1988, dropped below 3 percent in 1989. It is expected to decline to less than 2 percent, to 1.7 percent, in 1990.

Sumitro sees the decline from 3.9 percent to 1.7 percent in the short period of 2 or 3 years as indication of a slackening U.S. economy. Furthermore, two alarming incidents occurred in October 1987 and October 1989 in international financial and investment centers. "These were strong symbols of how deceptive economic growth has been in the United States and some other countries during the last several years," Sumitro declared.

Village Industries Advocated To Cut Economic Gap

90OG0101A Jakarta KOMPAS in Indonesian
20 Dec 89 p 1

[Text] Bogor, KOMPAS—Village industrialization needs to be implemented immediately in order to reduce the widening gap caused by the way in which development is oriented. If this matter is neglected, the now very alarming distorted growth may cause disruptions counterproductive to past efforts.

It is hoped that village industrialization will overtake the development leap that has left the village community behind. This will be a transformation process that puts development in its proper place through efficient use of existing resources in order to return them to the people with added value. Because some of the people live in villages, they, too, will automatically enjoy the successes of development.

Dr Gunawan Sumodiningrat said this on Tuesday [19 December] in a Village Industrialization Symposium held at Bogor by the IPB [Bogor Agricultural Institute] Center for Development Studies. In his discussion of a paper presented by Drs Marzuki Usman and Dr Dorodjatun Kuntjoro-Jakti, Gunawan repeated his opinion that the difference has become too great between those who enjoy the successes of development and those who are left out.

According to the UGM [Gajah Mada University] economist, the main cause of this situation is an orientation to growth that naturally spurs urban industry. It is immediately obvious that technology has produced a dichotomy between traditional and modern conditions, between farming and industry, and between people living under subsistence conditions and market-oriented people enjoying abundance.

Local Resources

He acknowledged that growth orientation is not always bad, as long as conducive conditions exist. These conditions include full participation in the production process, meaning that jobs are open not only to the educated and skilled but to all workers as well. Furthermore, market mechanisms must operate objectively by providing wages that are commensurate with a worker's effort. This must also be supported by equal opportunity for control and ownership of production facilities.

It is impossible to fulfill all these conditions, and the imbalance in society will continue. Development should therefore be reoriented to a focus on community resources themselves.

Panelist Dr Sjahrir expressed an almost identical view. One effort that can be made for the effective use of regional economic resources is the orienting of BUMD's (regionally-owned business enterprises) to the community. Up to now, most of the APBD [regional budget] has been focused on the APBN [national budget], and if local sources of funds are not used, the reallocation of industry will remain at RUNGKUT [expansion unknown] (Surabaya) and JABOTABEK [Jakarta, Bogor, Tangerang, and Bekasi], where the infrastructures are relatively good.

With regard to banking deregulation, the economist believes that although banks have reached the villages their structures still have not changed, because the cost of money remains high.

Gunawan Sumodiningrat also believes that the present system of banking has not yet been able to reach the lower levels of society. While the village community gives more emphasis to social relationships, the banking system requires economic responsibility. He acknowledged that private banks have begun steady expansion. All one needs to get credit is to present a KTP [resident identification card]. "All of this merely represents mobilization, however, and has not yet created true economic activity. It's possible that it may simply widen the existing gap," he said.

Dr Chairil A. Rasahan expressed the opinion that most village credits have not hit their targets, or have affected the wrong people. Some credits have been cut in half. In many cases, it is not unusual for credit to take so many turns that the full amount does not reach the recipient. Even more serious are cases where a farmer receives none of the credit at all.

"Agrarian reform demands courage to discard conventional paradigms. Approaches that were effective in the past may not be so any longer," said the economist from the IPB Center for Agro-Economy.

Egalitarian Structure

Dr Loekman Soetrisno said he believes village industrialization will be impossible as long as the structure of society is not egalitarian. The flow of our nation's history since the colonial era shows that the structure has not

changed much. In fact, the government issued Law 5/1979 to regulate village government for the sake of stability and rapid development. The law strengthened the position of the village chief, and, prior to that, the concept of "floating masses" was introduced in order to inhibit political party activity in the villages.

The principle of a strong executive underlies New Order government and produced Law 5/1974, which gave a centralistic flavor to regional governments and made DPRD's [regional legislatures] "impotent." The Agrarian Affairs Law and the Production Sharing Law, which were originally introduced to equalize land ownership and provide for fair relationships between land-owners and sharecroppers, have not been implemented in the way the nation envisioned.

"In brief, it can be said that efforts to transform society have stalled, and only political slogans have emerged. Indonesian society, particularly the village community, basically is still marked by a feudalistic social structure," the UGM sociologist said.

Loekman Soetrisno believes it is a mistake to compare development in this country with development in Taiwan and South Korea, not only because social structures are dissimilar but also because factors motivating development are very different. In both of those countries, the United States has helped with capital and with the marketing of industrial and agricultural products. Also, land reform and other village improvements were conducted seriously because Taiwan and South Korea directly faced communist countries.

Dr Loekman Soetrisno's views sparked an interesting debate. One of the panelists, Gunawan Wiradi, said that, in connection with the village transformation process, not all industrialized countries accomplished their agrarian transition through the middle class. Germany (or, more accurately, Prussia), for example, was known for its capitalism from the top. On the other hand, the United States is known for its capitalism from the bottom. Perhaps only England experienced agrarian transition through the middle class.

Village Industries Create Jobs, Deter Urbanization

90OG0099D Jakarta ANGKATAN BERSENJATA in Indonesian 14 Dec 89 p 5

[Text] The purpose of developing industrial districts in village areas is to stem the flow of urbanization by keeping village residents from being attracted to the cities. The question arises, however, as to how such industrial districts can be established.

The development of industrial districts must be accompanied by detailed and careful planning, while evaluating their future prospects. Inappropriate development will merely cause problems later.

Village industrial development is directed primarily toward small industries, such as home industries, that

have close relationships to village agricultural occupations and can be spread throughout the entire country. These operations will function to fulfill village consumption and manufacturing needs, largely through the use of local materials. It is hoped that the development of small industries in the villages will create a diversity of occupations and products.

Thinking with regard to small industry development in the villages is based on the concept that small industries need relatively little capital, can use easily obtainable materials, require technology involving only manual skills, and can be managed simply. The purpose of labor-intensive small industries is to create jobs. Small industries support a free economic system; and because of their small size, flexibility, and ability to initiate new things, they foster change in the industrial world.

Development Target

The objective of small industry development in the villages is to absorb manpower through a shift from agriculture to industry, while at the same time improving the welfare of the community.

To achieve this objective, government policies must be reviewed carefully, including central and regional government policies as well as field policies.

This review should be for the purpose of ensuring that small industry development in the villages is consistent with these policies. Another reason is that the climate of government support must be used in the best possible way by managers assigned to the development of these small industries.

One Department of Industry guideline is that such development should be inseparable from policies for strengthening small industry structure through its relationship with large and middle-sized industries and other sectors of the economy. Effective technology must be used in an effort to bring about even distribution of opportunities for jobs and business. The goal of small industry development is to make balanced industrial development possible in a particular area by giving attention to regional development concepts through optimal use of existing resources. This is to be done by noting the initial conditions needed for the activities of these small industries themselves and by considering the strategic factors on which future steps will be based.

Therefore, priority will be given to the following:

a. Small industries that absorb much manpower.

- b. Small industries that meet the needs of the people.
- c. Small industries related to the development of other sectors of the economy, particularly agriculture.

Structure

In the effort to create an industrial district in a village area, attention must be given first to the types of small industries themselves, i.e., raw-material-oriented, labor-oriented, and market-oriented.

In principle, the three types of small industries can be grouped in a single district by giving consideration to support by natural raw materials and to other factors, such as markets, technology, financing, facilities, and other infrastructures.

One of the main factors is space for small industry operations. Thus, the development of small industry must be based on comprehensive and integrated space utilization policies.

One approach to the formation of a small industry structure in a village area is the use of a growth center.

One type of growth center that can be developed is a cluster of existing small industries. Another possibility is to group one type of industry by providing transportation facilities and infrastructure, plus general facilities and necessary utilities. This requires the creation of an industrial district with a concentration of specially established small industry operations, complete with residential and industrial facilities in a single building. This building should be constructed with a view to improving its surroundings and the conditions of the industries themselves. The main objective will be the improvement of product quality and quantity so that ongoing operations can enhance profits and worker welfare and accommodate more manpower.

Such development clearly needs management and good coordination among all industry-related processes, such as planning, organizing, manufacturing, marketing, and controls, so that raw materials, manpower, capital, and equipment can be procured and managed in a way that achieves maximum results.

The main dilemma faced in the development of small industry districts is the choice between a labor-intensive policy and the improvement of efficiency and productivity. Another matter requiring attention is the reduction of obvious wage differences between large and small industries, and between cities and villages.

Finland Wants To Increase Economic Cooperation
90OG0102B Kuala Lumpur BERITA HARIAN in Malay 19 Dec 89 p 8

[Text] Finland wants to expand its economic and industrial cooperation with Malaysia, particularly in forest-related industries.

Finnish Ambassador to Malaysia Pertti Ripatti said the participation of Finnish firms in the wood industry sector is still "modest," whereas Malaysia is rich in forest resources.

"As the second largest producer of paper in the world and with our expertise, we are sure that we can help the progress of forest-related industries in this country," he said at a press conference held in Kuala Lumpur yesterday to announce that a Finnish trade delegation will begin a 6-day visit on 4 January.

The 20-person delegation will be headed by Finnish Minister of External Trade Pertti Salolainen and will represent a number of Finland's foremost companies, including the Neste Corporation, Benefon Oy, Imatron Vomini Oy, Irlico Group, JH Group, and Nokia.

While in Kuala Lumpur, the delegation will hold a 1-day conference on industrial cooperation between Malaysia and Finland, besides meeting the representatives of various government and private agencies and making a trip to Sarawak.

The trade secretary at the Finnish Embassy in Kuala Lumpur, Matti Vinha, said also that trade between the two countries has shown an encouraging increase since cooperation was established in 1983.

"Finnish exports to this country last year totaled 142 million ringgit, while imports totaled 132 million ringgit.

"In the first 9 months of this year, exports totaled 120 million ringgit and imports 115 million ringgit," he said.

He said current investments in this country by Finnish companies total about 100 million ringgit and involve 10 projects.

UMNO Vice President Stresses Importance of Islam
90OG0102C Kuala Lumpur UTUSAN MALAYSIA in Malay 18 Dec 89 p 1

[Text] Shah Alam, Sunday [17 December]—The government is always fair to all the people, but the principle of emphasis on the dignity of the Islamic community and religion cannot be ignored in any way because of pressures from other communal groups, said UMNO [United Malays National Organization] Vice President Anwar Ibrahim.

He guaranteed that the government will never disregard the interests of other communal groups but at the same time will continue to give preference to the Islamic religion and community.

As an example, Anwar cited the way in which the issue of enacting Islamic laws was resolved in Selangor, which, he said, required firmness and understanding between the Islamic community and non-Muslims.

He stated this while speaking here this afternoon to the Islamic Unity Conference, sponsored by the Selangor State Government. The purpose of the conference, which was attended by about 7,000 Muslims, was to express the wishes of Selangor people regarding Malay unity.

Also present were Selangor Chief Minister Tan Sri Muhammad Haji Muhd. Taib and volunteer organization representative Haji Talha Abdul Rahman.

Anwar said that the Islamic community must have conviction and should not be timid in defending the status of religion and the advancement of the country.

"Don't be easily intimidated by challenges from disappointed groups that claim to want to purge the country of bribery and misuse of power. We must dare to oppose them with unity and mature thinking."

"There is no use in our having unity and a strong government if we are timid in expressing our convictions and principles on issues, including those related to Malay unity," he said.

Anwar, who is also minister of education, wants the Islamic community to think far ahead and remain dissatisfied with what it has gained so far.

"Malays in this country are not wealthy. While we are in power, therefore, we should protect the power we do have while continuing to promote unity," Anwar stated.

Tan Sri Muhammad said Malays will disappear from this country if they remain divided.

He also said he wanted cooperation and understanding with other communal groups to be perpetuated, while we learn from the past in order to enrich the future.

The conference then gave a mandate to Prime Minister Datuk Sri Dr Mahathir Mohamad and Tan Sri Muhammad to uphold and protect the dignity of Islam.

UMNO, Spirit of '46 Cooperation Called Impossible
90OG0102D Kuala Lumpur BERITA HARIAN in Malay 18 Dec 89 p 2

[Text] Kuala Lumpur, Sunday [17 December]—Several UMNO [United Malays National Organization] leaders characterized as "impossible" the Spirit of '46 proposal to form a joint UMNO-Spirit of '46 committee to reestablish the UMNO outlawed by the court.

Selangor Chief Minister Tan Sri Muhammad Haji Muhammad Taib also described as strange the proposal to disband the current UMNO, which now has 1.3 million members.

"The minority group (the Spirit of '46) should bow to the majority. Therefore, it is of course absolutely impossible to disband the current UMNO and Spirit of '46, as they propose, in order to restore the banned UMNO," he told reporters today following the Islamic Unity Conference at Shah Alam.

He asked members of the Spirit of '46 not to confuse Malays, who have reached a pinnacle of unity through UMNO's success in gathering more than 1.3 million members.

A special conference of the Spirit of '46 yesterday proposed that the current UMNO and Spirit of '46 be disbanded and that all members return to the old UMNO as a resolution of the Malay unity problem.

Meanwhile, at Ipoh, UMNO Women's Movement President Datuk Seri Rafidah Aziz said such a joint committee is not needed, because the current UMNO is a continuation of the party formed in 1946.

"The Spirit of '46 should not set impossible conditions or demands if it truly desires complete unity. That party must be sincere and must stop its denigration of the present government," she said.

Decision

At Butterworth, Haji Yusof Ariff, president of the Information Bureau of UMNO's Nibong Tebal Division, said the formation of such a special committee would be only a waste of time and would cause more problems for Malay unity.

Haji Idrus Awang, former information officer of UMNO's Kepala Batas Division, said members of the Spirit of '46 should accept the decision of the majority of Malays and join UMNO.

He hoped UMNO's leaders will not accept the proposal made by the Spirit of '46 conference, which would only further complicate the situation, seeing that UMNO now has been successful in restoring Malay unity.

At Kangar, Datuk Hussein Ahmad, head of information for Malaysian UMNO, characterized the proposal as a polite tactic for permanently "killing" UMNO.

"The disbanding of UMNO would mean that Malays would have nothing they could depend on for their dignity and the fate of their community," he said this afternoon in a speech sponsored by the information committee of UMNO's Arau Division at Simpang Empat, 10 kilometers from Kangar.

Datuk Hussein, who is also deputy minister of housing and local government, said the existing UMNO is a

continuation of the old UMNO from the aspect of its struggle and zeal for safeguarding the future of Malays.

Meanwhile, Prof Syed Hussein Alatas, vice-chancellor of the University of Malaya, described the Spirit of '46 demand that UMNO President Datuk Sri Dr Mahathir restore the old UMNO as unfair and unrealistic.

He said the Spirit of '46 cannot through its demands disregard the desires of 1.3 million UMNO members who continue their struggle to perpetuate the party.

"The struggle of UMNO members is not a drama directed by a few leaders who raise and lower the feelings of members. If someone wants to have unity with UMNO, he should not begin with a determination to eliminate UMNO, for this is an attitude of wanting power," he said.

Musa Pledges Dedication to UMNO

90OG0102E Kuala Lumpur BERITA HARIAN in Malay 16 Dec 89 p 2

[Text] Labis, Friday [15 December]—Former UMNO [United Malays National Organization] Deputy President Datuk Musa Hitam declared that he will continue to devote himself to the party as long as the future of Malays and UMNO members is not adequately protected.

He said he could no longer bear to see Malays constantly divided merely because of selfish interests, for the effect will be felt by all levels of society in the country.

"Because I do not want the people, especially Malays, to be divided, I am willing to devote myself humbly to UMNO as the country's leading party as long as the welfare of Malays is safeguarded," he said.

He made this statement while speaking here this afternoon at a meeting at the Segamat Selatan District Council Hall with members of UMNO's Labis Division.

Datuk Musa also said that for the same reason he had accepted his recent appointment by Prime Minister Datuk Sri Dr Mahathir Mohamad as a special delegate to the United Nations.

Nevertheless, he said, there are still some people who do not understand his acceptance of the invitation, and some have hurled accusations at him.

Helicopters Grounded Following Crash

90OG0102A Kuala Lumpur BERITA HARIAN in Malay 20 Dec 89 p 1

[Text] Kuala Lumpur, Tuesday [19 December]—The use of all 33 Nuri helicopters of the Royal Malaysian Air Force [TUDM] has been halted entirely until completion of an investigation into yesterday's crash of a Nuri at Lundu, Sarawak, which killed 16 military officers.

Minister of Defense Tengku Ahmad Rithauddeen said the order was given by Prime Minister Datuk Sri Dr Mahathir Mohamad, who is now abroad.

"The prime minister ordered the TUDM to halt use of the Nuri helicopters and said that he was saddened by the report of the accident," he said.

Tengku Ahmad Rithauddeen said the TUDM will resume use of the Nuri aircraft if the investigation committee's inspection shows that it is still safe to fly.

Tengku Ahmad Rithauddeen said that for the time being the government does not plan to buy other types of helicopters to replace the Nuri, which is now used by TUDM squadrons based here at Butterworth and at Kluang, Johor.

"We must conduct a comprehensive inspection to ensure that the helicopters now in use do not have technical problems. The Nuri engines have been replaced with new ones, and the aircraft are overhauled after 1,200 hours of flight," he said.

He said information on the accident indicated that the helicopter crashed at the edge of Kuala Bandang, Lundu, Sarawak, after leaving the Kuching TUDM base at about 0855 yesterday.

"The helicopter was en route to Sematan on official business. The wreckage was found at about 1100 hours after a rescue team launched a search operation with police help," he said.

He said the rescue team found five bodies upon arrival at the site and five more at about 1500 hours. Bodies were found inside the helicopter.

Bad weather is believed to have been the cause of the crash, he said. Half of the aircraft's fuselage was under water.

It is difficult to ensure that high-ranking military officers use separate aircraft when on official duty, because ministers also occasionally travel together on a single aircraft, he said.

Priority

Expressing the government's condolences to the families of the victims, he said the government always gives priority to the safety of helicopters it uses.

He said he had also received condolences from several state governments, including Perak and Kelantan.

Also present were Armed Forces Commander General Tan Sri Hashim Mohd. Ali, Army Commander General Tan Sri Yaacob Zain, and Deputy Air Force Commander Major General Datuk Mohd. Yunus Tasi.

Meanwhile, the Senate urged the Ministry of Defense to reinspect TUDM military aircraft, such as jet fighters, Nuri helicopters, etc., in order to avoid loss of life.

Uniting AFP by 'Consolidating'

42000035B Manila MANILA CHRONICLE in English
20 Dec 89 pp 1, 7

[Text] Conclusion

The Armed Forces of the Philippines [AFP], thrown into disarray by the recent coup attempt, is trying to repair the damage by launching a process which it has termed as "consolidation."

Consolidation is being carried out earnestly in three ways: loyalty checks and low-level shake-ups to weed out any rebel sympathizers; pep sessions to re-orient the minds of those who had been misguided by rebel leaders; and outright prosecution of captured mutineers.

Whether or not this strategy will work to prevent further coup attempts or successfully address the root causes of military restiveness is an open question.

But two recurrent conditions have emerged to once again be the focus of public concern: the politicalization and factiousness within the Armed Forces.

The first roughly translates into soldiers becoming aware of their potential to play the leading role in the nation's political life and taking matters into their own hands. The second describes a military organization ridden with cliques.

Consolidation does not appear to deal with both problems extensively, at least not in the short term. Worse, the military apparently looks at the restiveness as an attitude problem that can be solved by indoctrination.

According to Defense Undersecretary Eduardo Ermita, "the defense secretary and the chief of staff have ordered an intensive dialogue of commanding officers with their subordinate officers ... to strengthen the conviction that the AFP is the defender of the people, and to explain what might have swayed the rebels in staging the coup.

But consolidation is nothing new: the AFP has been doing it since 1986.

Ermita himself said, "we thought we'd successfully consolidated after 1987." And one officer pointed out that "the leadership thought things were all right ... but some sentiments were raised again; ang lalim, eh [very deep sentiments]."

This view contrasts with that of AFP General Headquarters, which holds that the last coup was caused by moneyed provocateurs. Or as Ermita told the CHRONICLE, "pinagsabong ang mga sundalo [They sowed intrigue so soldiers will fight one another (literal translation: they are the soldiers as fighting cocks)]."

Ermita has an analogy for the failure of previous consolidation efforts: "Even a new building can still be attacked by termites."

But it seems unlikely that rap sessions will solve politicalization and factiousness, and the last coup has shown disturbing twists in these factors.

For instance, the most commonly cited rift in the AFP is that between the regulars and the reservists ("four-digits" and "sweepstakes," after the number of digits in their nameplates). Regulars, specifically those from the Philippine Military Academy, are supposed to have an "old boys" network of privileges resented by reservists, who compose the majority of the corps.

Previous coup attempts were almost entirely conducted by regular officers; one reason why the August 28 putsch failed was that reservists didn't join in.

December 1 was different. Of 31 rebel Marine officers, only six were from the PMA. "Ang dami ring [there were many from sweepstakes (reservists)] sweepstakes," said the officer quoted above.

Another twist is the revelation that the coup was staged by the Reform the Armed Forces Movement and Marcos loyalist officers—two factions which fought each other in the previous regime. This, plus the involvement of many reservist officers, suggests that factions in the military are not fixed, but changing ... even opportunistic (the bizarre alliance with Marcos officers does no good to RAM's alleged idealism).

But the officer cited preferred to see the alliances as proof that the issues are so strong that they unite factions.

"I think it's gone beyond unity or disunity ... mukhang malalim ang issues ... hindi ko masakyang [I cannot fathom the issues because they're so deep]."

He implied that far from decreasing, politicalization in the ranks has been increasing, and blamed it on a defective Government.

"Basically the issues are graft and corruption and inefficiency; sobra na ngayon [now its excessive]. It was a case of exasperation.

"Everybody expects the military to do everything for them. Politicians have a say in confirmations, in appointments, in the use of military transport."

And, he asked, "How can you tell the sergeant or lieutenant in the field not to do certain things when they see everyone else doing it and getting away with it?"

Ermita conceded that graft and corruption were real issues, but said the coup leaders just used these "as something that would catch attention."

Also, he said, the issues have been magnified: "This policy of transparency shows a lot of graft, and gives the impression that nothing is being done about it."

The question is whether these impressions can be addressed by indoctrination sessions. Commentators

have already compared RAM to a genie which can't be returned to its bottle. The same applies to the problem of politicalization.

Former telecommunications commissioner Jose Luis Alcuaz has a different perception of the military.

He claimed that "the AFP is intact; it's a little disunited but any day it can unite and take over, and this could be within a time frame of three months."

Alcuaz said he bases his assessments on "fact, science and art—gut feel and supernatural sources." His background in communications equipment suggests more mundane techniques. At any rate, he told the CHRONICLE that what is involved here is not just a "sick" military: "We are dealing with a sick society and government. We're more polarized than ever before."

Clearly, the problems of the military can't be dealt with by the AFP alone. The Government also has its share to do. As Ermita put it, "Government shouldn't rock the boat too much; we must have a moratorium on purely political matters and show the soldiers that the civilian leadership manifests support."

The failed coup has already won the AFP concessions it couldn't get earlier; the soldier's subsistence allowance has been raised; budget cuts in the military have been restored, and the confirmation of military appointments has been magically unblocked. Some say that Philippine Constabulary chief Maj. Gen. Ramon Montano is suddenly a shoo-in for the top position in the proposed Philippine National Police.

These, in effect, are admissions of the military's strength. Alcuaz pointed out that "in the Philippines, all coups have succeeded to the extent that they have destabilized the Government."

Whether the military will make what its implicit influence explicit partly depends on the results "consolidation" produces.

Ermita said that the reformist philosophy of RAM will disappear "once the core group is arrested; they have the mystique."

However, while wedging out the rebels and their sympathizers may get rid of those who supported this particular coup, it doesn't mean it will take care of all coup plotters.

According to Alcuaz, "the Holy Spirit tells me that there will be five more coup attempts ... it's possible the next may succeed, but there'll still be another one anyway."

He said the likelihood of the next attempt pushing through depends on whether or not "the military gets a lot of concessions."

Alcuaz said, "I call this (Dec. 1) the small coup." He claimed that the reason loyalist soldiers stayed loyal was that "this is a small coup—the big coup will be composed of 70,000 men."

It seems likely that the rank and file will continue to act out of loyalty to their officers, and not to the Constitution. The decisive battle, therefore, will be that for the minds of the officers: in a "small" coup, this would be at the battalion and brigade level; in a "big" coup, it would be at much higher command levels, involving much bigger formations.

What this all means is that the country's stability ultimately depends on the loyalty of a few men—those occupying the highest levels of operational command. In other words, popular high-ranking officers who have a chain-of-command power base, or a large following among the soldiers. In such a contrast, the term "Cory's generals" may have genuine, if worrying, significance.

Reforming the personalistic command system may lessen the risk. Indoctrinating the troops on adherence to principles is a very real, and crucial, need. Soldiers loyal to the Constitution may hesitate the next time their officer tells them to attack Malacanang.

In his book *Coup d'état*, Edward Luttwak points out that "some states are so well organized that the 'machine' is sufficiently sophisticated to exercise discretion, according to a given conception of what is 'proper' and what is not, in the orders that it executes."

Whether mere indoctrination without the benefit of civilian example will succeed is an open question.

Army Commander Accused of Financial Mismanagement

42000029A Manila MANILA CHRONICLE in English
8 Nov 89 p 1

[Text] About a hundred soldiers of the Army's 34th Infantry Battalion in Western Samar have "walked out" last Nov 2 in protest over the alleged mishandling of their unit's funds by their commander, reports reaching Fort Bonifacio said.

The soldiers left their posts and went to the brigade headquarter to accuse their commander, Lt Col Ernesto Magpantay, of alleged mismanagement.

The soldiers protested the "indiscreet" use of funds allotted for the Army's combat operations and other counter-insurgency operations.

They said they would not return to their posts unless the officer was replaced. They claimed they could not effectively operate against the rebels since they lacked resources being used by their commander for other purposes.

Army chief Maj Gen Manuel V. Cacanando has replaced Magpantay and ordered an investigation into the complaint.

He said the officer would be dismissed from the service if found guilty of the charges filed against him by his subordinates.

Cacanando said the military would now be harsh in punishing erring officers. He said the Army would no longer tolerate corrupt and abusive officers.

"Kung dati ni-rirelieve lang ang opisyal, ngayon tatang-galin na agad kung may ebidensiyang matibay," [("Before the officer only gets relieved, but now we actually dismiss him if the evidence against him is strong,")] he told soldiers during a dialogue in Zamboanga del Norte Sunday. "Pupukpukin na namin siya, maski na heneral pa." [We pound on his head even if he is a general.]

This was the second time soldiers walked out in protest over their superiors' actions this year. In Bicol, soldiers mutinied in June against a PC company commander who was allegedly involved in gambling in Camarines Sur. The officer was replaced.

Factors Leading to Military Polarization

42000035A Manila MANILA CHRONICLE in English
17 Dec 89 p 3

[Text] The persistent and growing unrest within the Armed Forces which has led to the latest armed attempt to bring down the Aquino Government was not solely fueled by the ambitious political desire of some politicians and military officials.

Senior defense and military officials believe that the deteriorating political and socio-economic conditions have, in a way, contributed to the widespread dissatisfaction within the military organization.

The "grandstanding" in Congress, the ineptitude of some Cabinet officials, and the growing perception among the people that graft and corruption are still rampant in the bureaucracy were among the reasons why many soldiers began to question their loyalty to the Government.

The military leadership cannot, however, absolve itself and heap all the blame on the politicians and the dilly-dallying Aquino Cabinet men for the failed December 1 putsch.

"The military has its own fault. I believe that its leaders could also be blamed for what happened," a retired Army general told the CHRONICLE. "For the past three years, the military leadership has failed to unite and consolidate the Armed Forces despite several programs designed for it."

Efforts to unite the Armed Forces began right after the Edsa revolt in February 1986 with the breaking up of a number of fraternal associations within the military.

Among its casualties were the Reform the Armed Forces Movement (RAM), an organization of military officers mostly graduates of the elite Philippine Military Academy which advocated reforms and was the main

group that broke away from the Marcos-controlled military and the enlisted personnel-dominated Guardians Brotherhood, which was dubbed as an army within an army.

There were lesser groups like the Sacrado Corazon de Jesus composed of Army Scout Rangers who deserted their ranks and formed a cult-like organization in the south.

But these efforts to consolidate the military were not completed as politics also got into the rank and file of the Armed Forces, dividing further the already fractious organization.

The division of the spoils of the revolution was a primary factor which went against the consolidation of the military as officers identified with the past regime were relegated to odd and less important positions.

When efforts to disband RAM and the Guardians were made, the organization was further divided and polarized—one group considered itself persecuted and the other the favored one.

Later the Marcos loyalists within the military surfaced, and soon became associated with soldiers who attempted not only once but thrice to grab power and restore the discredited regime to regain their positions of influence.

Then came the Ramboys who were linked to two attempts to install their own political patrons in the guise of instituting reforms within the government and military. The group demonstrated they wanted power for themselves realizing that they have to relinquish power they briefly shared with the civilian government.

As more groups fell from grace, the more fractious the military organization became. Rebuilding, consolidating and uniting the organization proved to be a Herculean task. The military was already highly politicized and polarized.

The rapid politicalization of the military could never be blamed on anybody else except the leadership itself, some military officials say. Aside from its failure to unite the AFP [Armed Forces of the Philippines], the military leadership had also developed an anti-insurgency plan that only heightened the political awareness of the soldiers and polarized them further.

The military's "total approach strategy" which was an integrated civilian and military coordinated action to eliminate the root causes of insurgency only served as a vehicle for power grabbers to manipulate the gullible junior officers and enlisted men.

The Special Operations Team (SOT) concept for instance, which included the barangay immersion process, exposed the younger officers and the enlisted personnel to what was really happening on the field, especially the imbalance in the partnership between the civilian and military leaders in fighting the communist insurgency.

While the junior officers and their men risk their lives in the battlefield, they would be frustrated to find out how their civilian counterparts were coping with their own jobs.

More often than not, they would encounter absentee mayors, corrupt local officials and reluctant public servants. They then begin to realize they are alone in the fight, alone in doing their assigned tasks and that the supposed partnership between the civilian and military officials does not exist.

Their frustration and disappointment was reinforced further by the perceived grandstanding in Congress and dilly-dallying of some Cabinet men.

These younger officers then began asking themselves where they went wrong.

When they started asking those questions, they fell prey to rabble rousing of power grabbers and were easily lured into joining another coup attempt.

Mostly idealistic, some junior officers became disciplines of messianic military officers, who think they alone have the right to change the political system and society.

The official believes that military intervention can become a regular fare unless the AFP changes its perception that it has the right to change government and install another if it thinks the incumbent one has already outlived its usefulness.

Inspired by the success of the Edsa revolt and unshaken by the government's soft treatment on coup plotters who had not only failed once but thrice in their attempts over the years, one can expect more coup d'état to come.

Cadres Fleeing Eastern Mindanao

42000035E Manila MANILA BULLETIN in English
2 Dec 89 p 7

[Text] Communist Party cadres are fleeing from Eastern and Northeastern Mindanao to escape a bloody purge being conducted in the area by the party's military intelligence arm in coordination with the regular units of the NPA as well as the local partisan units. At the same time, leading underground personalities from the three party organs, i.e., the National United Front Commission, the National Organizational Commission and the Southern Tagalog Regional Party Committee have already been arrested, detained, and summarily executed on suspicion of being enemy deep penetration agents.

The bloody purge in Southern Luzon is codenamed Operation Missing Link. This was disclosed by party elements who escaped from the purge seen as the bloodiest factional struggle in the history of the national democratic movement since its inception through the re-establishment of the Party under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

The faction of Jose Ma. Sison, Satur Ocampo, Antonio Zumel, Jose Luneta and a number of middle-level cadres with extensive connections in the territorial and regional party organs is just using the Operation Missing Link as a cover to eliminate the hardline advocates of the fast-track urban insurrection campaign viewed as the most effective way of delivering political victory to the Party. Part of the bloody intrigues that Joma has unleashed against the proletarian cadres who are questioning his singlehanded decisions to establish contacts with the revisionist parties in Eastern Europe is the abolition of the Manila-Rizal Regional Party Committee whose majority members are advocating the fast-track urban insurrection. Although Joma never made any public pronouncement denouncing said line, the recent attempt to arrest the entire regional party committee and to try them in Southern Luzon in connection with the tactical operations against infiltration is widely known among the members of the Reformist Underground Cells. They are cognizant of Joma's animosity against K. Popoy and his top Manila based cadres.

The underground spokesman of the fugitive cadres disclosed that Joma's last pronouncement that the Soviet Union is not a social-imperialist power smacks of slavishness and deceipt just to enable him to wangle financial and material support from the CPSU. Jose Maria Sison has barefacedly ate all his criticisms of the Lavaites for kowtowing to Moscow line in exchange of assistance from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. This ideological deviation is a betrayal of all that the CPP [Communist Party of the Philippines] stands for and a slur to the interest and prestige of our comrades fighting for national democracy. Joma's sellout is a traitorous stab in the back of those cadres who genuinely believe in the development of an independent and democratic communist party free from the dictates and influence of any fraternal parties already in power.

Paper Reports Insurgency Decrease in Bicol

42000035D Manila MANILA CHRONICLE in English
2 Dec 89 p 14

[Text] Legaspi City, (ANFI)—Bicol, at one time, known as the most peaceful in the country and at another time, the stronghead of New People's Army rebels going after treacherous members with guns and sabers, is again showing signs of sharp contrast.

The provinces with contrasting images are Albay and Sorsogon, its neighbor in the south. The other provinces in the region show no noticeable change.

While Albay has a lessening insurgency problem as revealed by Lt. Col. Meynardo Beltran, its PC [Philippine Constabulary] commander, Sorsogon is getting an image as the rebels' bastion.

This November, 1989, three encounters were reported in Sorsogon, claiming at least eight casualties on the side of the rebels.

Justino Bio, senior special investigator of the Commission on Human Rights assigned in Sorsogon, said that in the encounters in Guinlajon, Sorsogon, six NPAs [New People's Army] were killed. In the two other encounters in sitio Lupi Tinago Juban and Sta. Cruz Casiguran, Sorsogon, two rebels were also killed.

The military did not release reports of its own casualties.

In the Sta. Cruz skirmish, the rebels came face to face with battle-tested Army Rangers. The Rangers almost wiped out the insurgents in a few minutes of fighting.

The three encounters, according to Bio, revealed a picture of a gloomy peace and order situation in the province. Bio is a former Constabulary sergeant.

One encouraging report came with the surrender of 103 NPA sympathizers and supporters to the 256th PC Company headed by Capt. Eduredo Cea, company commander.

The image of Albay is quite different.

Lt. Col. Beltran said at least 53 barrios in the province are now free of rebels. At the start of 1989, 202 barrios were in the grip of the insurgents.

Percentage wise, Beltran said, the number of rebel-influenced barrios has gone down from 28.09 to 21.

He attributed the success to the intensified campaign waged by the military against the rebels. The rebels have been kept on the run.

Another factor is the increasing support the people have given to the government's efforts to lessen insurgency in Bicol.

Beltran said the rebels cannot stay in one place for a longer period without their whereabouts known to the military.

Rebels Name Officials on 'Hit List'

42000035C Manila MANILA CHRONICLE in English
20 Dec 89 p 1

[Text] Defense Secretary Fidel Ramos, Armed Forces Chief of Staff Gen. Renato de Villa and PC-INP [Philippine Constabulary-Integrated National Police] chief Maj. Gen. Ramon Montano are high on the "hit list" of rebel soldiers who find them a stumbling block to their attempts to topple the Aquino Government.

Montano himself revealed this in an interview with defense reporters, adding that the rebels would try another coup attempt despite the failed mutiny last Dec. 1.

[boxed item] Fugitive ex-colonel Gregorio Honasan said in an interview with CBS News at an undisclosed safe-house in Metro Manila that his group will "physically remove President Aquino from office if necessary."

CBS News also quoted another rebel as saying he "would not rule out assassination." [end boxed item]

"Unless all of them are arrested, there will be no stopping such attempts," Montano said, referring to the coup leaders.

He said the rebels might go for another power grab by trying to take over anew Mactan Air Base, whose commander Brig. Gen. Jose Comendador sided with them in the last coup attempt, considered the bloodiest and most serious so far to topple the Aquino Government.

According to Montano, Ramos was a particular target for assassination by the rebels. "They perceive him to be their main stumbling block. That's the reason why they wanted to eliminate him," he said.

Aside from Ramos, "galit din sila kay Rene (de Villa) at sa akin [they were also mad at Rene de Villa and at me]," Montano added. He explained that cashiered Army Lt. Col. Gregorio Honasan and his followers had a personal grudge against Ramos because the latter did not give in to their demands while they were still in active military service.

"They wanted the prime cuts," Montano said referring to Honasan and his group. But Ramos rejected their demands because "nahalata kasing gusto nila ang [he believed that the ulterior motive was to seek powerful positions for themselves] powerful positions," he added. At that time, he said, Ramos was the AFP [Armed Forces of the Philippines] chief of staff.

Montano also suspected the rebels were after him. "They thought I would join their cause because of the beatings we received from the politicians."

He said the rebels had vented their anger on de Villa and himself at the height of the failed coup. On the first day of the mutiny, rebel aircraft bombed de Villa's quarters and Montano's office inside Camp Crame. He said a Tora-Tora plane bombed de Villa's quarters while a Sikorsky helicopter fired a rocket destroying his office atop the four-storey building housing the Constabulary headquarters.

Air Force Chief on Modernization, PRC Aircraft Acquisition

90OG0097A Bangkok LAK THAI in Thai
11-17 Dec 89 pp 28-29

[Text] LAK THAI has reported every development in the buildup of the Royal Thai Air Force [RTAF] since "Big Te", Air Chief Marshal Kaset Rotnanin, became Commander of the RTAF, including the consideration to purchase the Chinese jet fighter, the F-7M, which may not be purchased, the plan to consider the English interceptor and attack aircraft, the Tornado, the U.S. proposal to sell the A-7 Corsair instead of the A-10, which we wanted, and the procurement of the royal helicopter.

LAK THAI, which has covered these stories thoroughly, interviewed Air Chief Marshal Kaset Rotnanin concerning the buildup. The interview took place on 8 December at RTAF Wing 53 in Prachuap Khiri Khan Province on the day that he presided over the ceremony to dedicate a memorial to and place the ashes of the heroes of 8 December. It was members of the RTAF Wing here who bravely sacrificed their lives in battle with Japanese soldiers landing to seize the air base on the Prachuap Khiri Khan bay. There were 140 of them who fought against a regiment of the Japanese on 8 December 1941; 38 members of the RTAF and one member of a military youth organization were killed while more than 400 Japanese were killed. The RTAF had already erected a memorial for them but later felt that it was not sufficiently majestic and so erected a new, more appropriate one, held a dedication ceremony and placed the remains again on this day.

Chinese Aircraft

As LAK THAI has already reported, Chinese officials are trying to sell the F-7M; at the beginning of April there were communications concerning the procedures for bringing in aircraft for our test pilots to try out in Thailand. Air Chief Marshal Kaset Rotnanin said that the Chinese aircraft would have to be given thorough consideration. At this point he could not say if they would be purchased or not, but there was still interest. As for the story that the Chinese were using political contacts in promoting the sale, "Big Te" said that ministry-level Chinese had come to Thailand and met with senior officials but had not met with him as he had been busy. He said that the technique of selling was up to the seller, however we were purchasers and had to consider this matter as purchasers; we had to take time to consider it.

He said that the Chinese had sent aircraft for us to test, but he could not say what their capabilities were because they had not been tested for very long. The capabilities would have to be determined over the long term. It would take a great deal of flying to see if these aircraft had similar capabilities to the F-5's we already have. He said that in any case he would probably visit the production facility in China because he had not personally

inspected one before. He thought that after the winter in China he would go to observe Chinese aircraft production.

European Aircraft

Air Chief Marshal Kaset said that the Tornado was very interesting because of its great capabilities; it was the leading European aircraft. "Big Te" said that there were many other European aircraft which were interesting and which would have to be checked out. He said that the Tornado was an interceptor and attack aircraft and that it would take some time to determine if it was suitable for us or not. And what was most important was whether we had the funds to purchase it or not. "The European aircraft would be good in another way in that we have never used them before." He told LAK THAI that the technological level of European aircraft was very high, especially the long range weapons systems. "We must take a long look at this, we must look at the value, and we must compare everything in detail."

As for the U.S. A-7 Corsair he said that Thailand was the first country to which the United States proposed to sell this attack aircraft because they saw that we needed a modern attack aircraft. The engine model used in the A-7 was recently changed to the latest type, and many other improvements were being made. After they have been made, the United States will propose to sell it to us. "We will accept it for consideration and to study its capabilities and suitability." He said that the Tornado could be used as an attack aircraft just as the A-7 Corsair.

If We Had the Funds

The RTAF Commander said with regard to these purchases that if the RTAF had its own funds for the purchases or if there were funds coming in to help the national budget, then they could be handled easily. He said that he was interested in using RTAF land to help the armed forces just as the Army was considering doing. He said that the location of the Directorate of Aeronautical Engineering at Saphan Daeng in Bang Sue, which included more than 200 rai [one rai is about .4 of an acre], was an area in which there was interest, and he thought that if this directorate were moved to Don Muang [Airport] then that land, which was under the control of the Treasury Department since it was government land, could be put up for rent. It should earn about 5 billion baht, which could be used to improve the armed forces a great deal.

Air Chief Marshal Kaset said that if someone were interested in paying the 5 billion, then the head of the Directorate of Aeronautical Engineering would move it to the area of Don Muang used by the RTAF Noncommissioned Officers' School. The RTAF Noncommissioned Officers' School would be moved to the present RTAF Officers' School. There were plans to move the RTAF Officers' School to Pran Buri District of Prachuap Khiri Khan Province, where the RTAF already owns about 2,000 rai [one rai is about .4 of an acre].

He said that although the present location of the RTAF could be changed if the Airports Authority of Thailand were interested in land on the eastern bank, nevertheless it would be difficult or impossible because if the RTAF moved out of Don Muang so that Don Muang were just an airport, the new construction would take billions. He said that the location of the RTAF Headquarters' building was to be moved from the western bank because

the Airports Authority of Thailand wanted the land and a new headquarters was to be built for 300 million. But it could not be done at this time.

"Moving the RTAF from Don Muang could be accomplished if we had billions, but this is not possible," Air Chief Marshall Kaset emphasized.

POLITICAL**Village Election Irregularities Revealed**

902E0103C Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese
16 Nov 89 p 3

[Text] My village today held the final session of this term of the village people's council. It was said that the district vice chairman attended. Everyone was stirred up about the probability of removing the village chairman because of a recent serious mistake. However, he was breathing easier as the district people's council vice chairman was attending today for the reason that he had once been a candidate in this village for the district people's council. Everyone remembered that when the election campaign was held, he came down a few times and spoke at the office of the village party committee before a small number of the masses. Now, no one remembered him. When the election was held, many voters were unaware of his identity, origin, or occupation but some cadres reminded them who to vote for and who to line out and they did so.

When mentioning the district, it is also necessary to mention the village. At the end of the term, when voters asked questions about this problem or another, one after another of the council members spoke indistinctly, some of them having attended two full sessions without making one statement. Even the chairman and vice chairman had made mistakes but were still seated. The people wanted to dismiss them but did not know how.

In the coming three-echelon people's councils elections, it is said there are many renovations in the law. In a party chapter meeting held to publicize the law, someone asked whether there was anything new about this law compared with before and the chairman replied, "I cannot publicize that!".

Every election task performed in a cursory matter only for the sake of formality and not inspected upon completion is a waste of effort and of low effectiveness.

Hanoi Workers Contribute Ideas to Draft Union Law

902E0103B Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese
16 Nov 89 p 3

[Text] The Capital Trade Union Federation has arranged for wards, districts, sectors, central agencies, workers, civil servants, laborers not engaged in state operation, intellectuals, and many other classes of the people to contribute opinions to the draft of the trade union law. Many people attending the meetings expressed opinions in a strictly constructive spirit with the contribution of many fundamental and total opinions on portions of the draft from its introduction to 24 of the 27 articles in the 4 sections.

The trade union draft law has been formulated during the historic period of the nation's renovation, and is

greatly needed. The prerequisites and conditions necessary for formulating the trade union draft law at this time are limited: the 1980 Constitution is being studied and revised; there is still no labor law; the management mechanism is new, especially at the primary level, has not been fixed or perfected, and its operation is unconventional; production, especially state-operated industrial production, is still unstable; and the party has no new resolutions for building the worker class and strengthening mass motivation.

Many discussions indicated that legislative ideologies, viewpoints, and techniques have not yet summarized the socioeconomic renovations in legal provisions and standards and in the authoritative rights and obligations of the trade union, along with the relationships not only between the trade union and the state, and the management agency, but also with the participating organizations in the socialist political system. The "introduction" must clearly point out the role of the trade union in the initial stretch of the transitional period for consistency with the present renovation task. Immediately in Section I, one can see that a party nature is lacking, the class nature is unclear, and the legal nature is indistinct.

All classes of the workers, laborers, and people have contributed a great many opinions for revising each article, item, and section in the draft. However, this phase of activity shows that the legal and trade union knowledge of a number of specialist and trade union cadres is still limited: those with knowledge of the law lack trade union knowledge, and an extremely few trade union cadres have a grasp of the law. Methods of overcoming this problem are needed.

Toward Finding Correct Direction for Our Renovating Task

902E0121B Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese
27 Nov 89 p 3

[Text] The world's socialism is at a turning point. It either continues to follow the path that it has trodden for the last few decades or criticizes itself, reevaluates itself, and finds a new effective road in order to build and perfect itself.

The movement that forces changes has become a common trend in many socialist countries beginning in the mid 1980's. This process takes place in each socialist country under a different name, such as reorganization, reform, and renovation, which actually are the same—the process of displaying more strongly the superiority of socialism.

Looking at the Real Situation and Clarifying the Causes

Renovation was the basic theme of the 6th CPV Congress. Renovation first of all involves renovating the thinking, and then renovating the activities in all aspects of social life, particularly in the economic field. Renovation does not involve changing the objectives and basic

principles of socialism but rather overcoming the conservative, stagnant, and wrong concepts and deeds, and finding effective forms and methods in order to promote a full and correct understanding of the objectives and basic principles of socialism in daily life.

In our country, the wrong concepts and deeds that had taken place in the socialist construction in the past resulted from many complicated causes which were linked with specific historical situations. We can cite a few major causes as follows:

- The majority of cadres and party members had grown up in the revolutionary struggle and national liberation wars. As we had been too familiar with the laws and methods of struggle in the revolution and wars, we inevitably were confused and lost when we entered the socialist revolution, the central task of which was to build the economy. There arose the illusion to the effect that we could use the method of direct attack and rely on revolutionary will and enthusiasm as we had done during the wars to resolve our social and economic problems, which normally were very complicated. Economic gains as a basic driving force in production and business activities were underestimated. Some localities had allowed painful phenomena to take place, such as allowing farmers who had been producing commodities to destroy whole fields of coconut and sugar cane which they had planted themselves with a great deal of labor and energy and would soon harvest just because the purchase prices offered by the state economic organizations were too low.

Thus the popular idea to the effect that once we had won victory in the fierce wars against aggression, we would also easily win victory in peaceful construction proved itself unfounded. We need to maintain and further develop the great enthusiasm that was born in the revolution and wars against aggression, but we also must know how to direct this enthusiasm toward the action that conforms to the laws now existing under new and different conditions.

- The greatest difficulty, which was also the greatest mistake, arose from the concept of how to do planning for the new society, the socialist society. Karl Marx and Engels, the masters of the world proletarian revolution, laid the foundation for the society of the future on the basis of analyzing the inherent laws of development of the capitalist system. The genius of the masters of the revolution was their scientific prediction of the characteristics and basic principles of the future communist society. What they had not predicted—something they could not have been asked to do at their time—was to outline in detail the process of building socialism, particularly in the economically-backward countries like Vietnam. The truth about dogmatic thinking impeding development was reflected in the fact that the characteristics of a perfected socialism as predicted by Karl Marx and Engels were considered a model to be applied immediately to the first stage of the period of transition

to socialism. For instance, all the classic Marxist-Leninist works mentioned a socialist model based on highly-socialized production and labor; a country operated as a great enterprise, with central planning and relationships based on exchanges of material resources replacing the money-goods relationships; and each working person having a labor card certifying the share contributed by him to society, with the latter paying him back with consumption funds of material resources of equal value. It was obvious that these characteristics would be suitable only for a future communist society based on the premise of a highly-developed productive force. Would it be possible for us to apply nearly totally these characteristics to the initial phase of the socialist construction? The realities already rejected this possibility. These characteristics could be achieved only through many transitional stages and many intermediary steps in the development process, which could last for hundreds of years. To do differently would mean to skip and jump ahead while disregarding all historical conditions and would end up in failure.

- No less important was the tendency to copy in a mechanical manner the socialism-building experience in a number of fraternal countries and to disregard the concrete historical conditions. We could not deny the positive things of popular significance that one country might learn from another country. But to say that all of the successful things that occurred in a friendly country could be applied with good results in our country would be a mistake. This elementary truth nevertheless was not always respected by us. To be fair we must say that it would be hard to avoid this in the early stage of our socialist construction because, since this was a new and uncharted road, to unselectively learn from the experience of the countries which had been ahead of us was quite understandable. So far we have clearly learned that no matter how great the achievements of the fraternal countries in building socialism might be, they had not yet gone past the stage of searching and testing as they were still treading the road adjacent to the rational forms and methods of socialist construction. Never before have we seen a more profound significance in the argument, "Revolution is creativity, and the truth is always concrete," than we do now.

The above-mentioned basic causes explain why for more than 10 years, since the liberation of the South and the move toward socialism of the country as a whole, in spite of some achievements, we made quite a few mistakes and had many shortcomings in the socialist construction.

The Real Nature of the Problem

The 6th Party Congress looked straight into these truths and pointed to the major directions for the renovating task in all economic, political, social, security, national defense, and foreign policy aspects. Afterwards many resolutions of the plenums of the CPV Central Committee and Political Bureau materialized such directions in important steps. After 3 years of renovation, the actual results we obtained have proved the correct nature

of these resolutions. Naturally, the concepts of renovation have not yet proved themselves perfect, nor the road lying ahead would be free of bumps. New contradictions in the development process would continue to appear and realities would provide us with more materials to continue perfecting the correct concepts. What we can affirm for sure is that in the last 3 years, we made a very basic step forward in overcoming the dogmatic concepts and action that impeded development. Socialism in our country began to become a dynamic and creative entity conforming better to the revolutionary and scientific nature of Marxism-Leninism.

Something that occurred in the last few years and made renovation in our country more complicated was the fact that a number of people were advancing wrong concepts in the name of renovation and thus turned it away from its goals and meaning. Among the wrong views the most harmful one was the argument to the effect that the reason why in many years our economy had been encountering difficulties was that the country had chosen the wrong direction. According to advocates of this argument, instead of taking the road of transition to socialism, we should choose the capitalist road. They believed that the economic success of "four dragons" (South Korea, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Singapore) proved the vitality and effectiveness of this road. They were totally silent about the cases of hundreds of underdeveloped countries in the world now facing difficulties and being unable to escape the current stalemate after having taken this road. They also failed to mention the historical conditions that had allowed the "four dragons" to develop relatively quickly. The mistake of the advocates of the "choosing the road" view first was reflected in the methodological aspect: They took individual phenomena and associated them with the common characteristics of the entire system, and considered phenomena and processes by separating them from concrete historical conditions, under which such phenomena and processes came into being and progressed.

A number of people who still advocated taking the socialist road as the chosen direction nevertheless regretted that the stage of people's national democracy had ended too soon. In their opinion, that stage should have lasted an entire historical era because of the need to develop not only the socialist economic components but also the nonsocialist ones, particularly the private capitalist economic sector. Only then could the people become rich, and the country strong, so as to create all of the preconditions for the socialist revolution. In their opinion, the characteristic of the people's national democratic revolutionary stage was a multicomponent economy. These people forgot that Lenin himself had repeatedly made it clear that the term "transition" (to socialism) was to cover many socioeconomic structures which had various components and segments, both socialist and capitalist, and even precapitalist, and in which the socialist economy played a leading role. They also forgot that whenever the principal tasks of a revolutionary stage were basically fulfilled, efforts should

without delay be made to start fulfilling the principal tasks of the next revolution. Even the concept of "democratic revolution," which bore the same name in both revolutionary stages, would not be the same in terms of meaning.

In the search for the road to renovation, still other people fell into the pragmatic-view trap and said that material interests should be put above everything else and that the effectiveness of the development approach would be measured only by economic interests. For them, political system, ideology, confidence, and ideals were only secondary. They totally disregarded Lenin's teaching, "Politics cannot afford not to have priority over economy," in other words, the latter should be subjected to political guidance. The world of today would not have any middle road, in terms of its socioeconomic system. Pragmatism would bring about only temporary results, with a tragic end always awaiting its fate. The tests of this approach as they were conducted in the world already supplied us with bloody lessons. Why should we follow the wrong tracks?

The above-mentioned wrong concepts were certainly vague when they dealt with the nature of the different roads to socioeconomic development. They thus reflected confusion and vacillation in a socioeconomic crisis. When the renovation policy had not yet taken shape and still was expected to bring about obvious results in the daily life, when the old mechanism had not yet been replaced effectively, this period of transition usually was a good breeding ground for some strange concepts to appear, in the name of searching for another escape from a difficult situation.

A wrong tendency appearing in the renovating process that we should not underestimate was the tendency to be extremist. Its signs were multifaceted. For instance, it involved completely denying the past and rejecting the values that had been recognized by history and had been the source of legitimate pride of the party and people.

These people would not be able to explain how our nation and our country's revolution could exist and continue to move forward in an extremely difficult situation, "a thousand kilograms hanging on a strand of hair," if there were no achievements in the past? It was nihilistic attitude on their part as they thought that the past was only a bare desert and that the renovating task should start from zero. Although there were "black marks" in history that would need criticisms and even condemnation, it still would be wrong for us to use them as an excuse to "see only the trees while forgetting the forests." To criticize mistakes in the past, and in the present as well, would be necessary, but more important would be the motivation and attitude behind such criticisms. Here a scientific and objective view, a serious attitude, and a pure heart full of a sense of responsibility would be badly needed.

The extremist tendency was also reflected in excessively exaggerating the role and usefulness of the nonpublic

economic sectors, underevaluating the significance of the socialist economic component, emphasizing only the importance of the market mechanism while underestimating the planning mechanism, excessively stressing the opportunities to open the doors to the outside world for the good of the economy while failing to fully evaluate the domestic factors that would always have a decisive significance, demanding unlimited freedom and democracy, disregarding the factor of serious centralism, discipline, the law, and so on.

Training of Members, Improvement of People's Councils Needed

*902E0121A Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese
25 Nov 89 pp 1, 4*

[Text] According to initial results, the educational background and knowledge of state, economic, and scientific and technological management of the deputies to the newly-elected people's councils at all levels are better than those of the people's council deputies of the previous term. But in terms of being familiar with state management and knowing very well the task of deputies in accordance with the laws on the organization of people's councils and people's committees at all levels and on the procedures for people's council activities, particularly the actual activities of deputies at conferences and while getting in touch with voters and carrying out their own work, they still show a great deal of inadequacy.

Therefore, the first thing to be done after the elections is to organize short-term courses for people's council deputies to improve many aspects of their knowledge. In the past, this task was set to be carried out after all elections, but so far it has been carried out in a routine and superficial manner in terms of both contents and method of training, and without careful preparations. Only few new people's council deputies attended those courses, for almost all deputies, who were key cadres of provinces, districts, and villages, said they were too busy carrying out their official duties to attend them. This time the Law on the Organization of People's Councils and People's Committees has been promulgated in the spirit of renovation; consequently, as the role of people's councils changes in terms of quality, localities need to organize a thorough study of this law and the procedures for people's council activities issued by the Council of State. These advanced training courses must be opened right after the people's council elections and completed before the first session of the newly-elected people's councils is held to elect standing committees of people's councils at provincial, district, and similar levels; to elect secretariats of people's councils at village, subward, and similar levels; and at the same time to elect people's committees at all levels.

The second question that needs to be raised is to improve people's council sessions in order to continue raising their quality. This is the main form of people's council activities. People's council sessions must reflect better

the function of people's councils to make decision and to have control over people's committees, as well as to mobilize the masses for carrying out the political task of their locality.

People's council sessions must be properly prepared in regard to such aspects as setting a theme for the meeting, collecting voters' aspirations and ideas, correctly evaluating local socioeconomic situations, and recommending correct solutions suitable for local characteristics and state laws. The theme of a session must result from sounding the opinions of deputies and voters in a number of typical localities on important issues. People's council deputies must rely on this theme to prepare their own ideas and to make realistic contributions to the session in the form of expressing their opinion at meetings of deputies' teams and at general meetings and drafting resolutions to submit in advance to the people's council standing committee. Conference chairmen must organize general meetings to discuss important controversial issues before putting them to voting or approving a draft resolution. After the latter is approved, people's councils must properly encourage voters to thoroughly understand it and turn it into a reality in the life of their locality. People's committees, which are the executive organs of people's councils, must materialize the resolution, divide among sectors and echelons the task of organizing discussions, and set the responsibilities of organizations and individuals for carrying out the people's council resolution.

Standing committees of provincial and district people's councils must create favorable conditions for deputies to draft plans on the basis of their actual work for implementation of people's council resolutions in organs and individual deputies' localities, and to arrange for control and supervision during implementation of such resolutions.

The results of people's council sessions also depend on active and creative work of each and every deputy. There cannot be good work in a session unless there are active contributions of all deputies. The work of every deputy in the economic and social fields not only encourages progress in these fields but also constitutes the most important condition for ensuring good quality of a people's council conference.

The third question to be raised is to promptly build and stabilize the organization of the people's council standing committees at the provincial, district, and similar levels and of the secretariats of village, subward, and town people's councils. The permanent organization of people's councils are born to satisfy the objective needs of the organization and activities of people's councils. The permanent organization and secretariat of a people's council must carry on the daily work related to the council's activities and report it to the council at meetings.

The standing committees of people's councils and the latter's executive organs, people's committees, are to

prepare for the theme of people's council sessions and to ensure getting work of better quality in these sessions. People's council standing committees, in coordination with people's committees and specialized committees of people's councils, are to monitor the implementation of people's council resolutions; to regulate and coordinate activities of specialized committees and those of deputies; and to make sure the activities of people's councils are no longer formal as they were in the past.

In order to allow the people's councils' permanent organs to operate in an effective manner, the most important requirement is to correctly appoint the leading cadres who have good prestige and are capable of carrying out these organs' function. We should not consider this a good opportunity to appoint to these organs a number of cadres having "reputation" but no "strength," or cadres being about to retire. If we do not firmly avoid these wrong concepts, the permanent organs of people's councils at provincial, district, and similar levels will not be able to carry out their task as the law requires.

If we want the people's councils, which are the state's organs of power in localities, to operate in an effective manner, we must continually strengthen the party's leadership. The party sets the direction for people's councils at all levels to discuss and decide about the issues that affect the spiritual and material life of local people; through people's councils, achieves socialist democratic rights; and through people's council deputies, listens to the people's opinions so as to define the positions and policies that are correct and appropriate for the common needs of the revolution and the legitimate interests of local people. The party listens to the correct ideas of people's councils but has to rectify the wrong concepts of some of their deputies if these concepts do not conform to the revolutionary line. The party provides people's councils with leadership by the democratic method through party members and absolutely avoids coercion and imposition of party members' one-way subjective ideas on the people, which limit democracy in the councils.

MILITARY

Building, Defending Sea Area of 9th Military Region Discussed

902E0123A Hanoi TAP CHI QUOC PHONG TOAN DAN in Vietnamese Nov 89 pp 16-21, 46

[Text] The 9th Military Region has a coastline approximately 743 km long. Moving in a circle from east to west, it encompasses six provinces: Tien Giang, Ben Tre, Cuu Long, Hau Giang, Minh Hai, and Kien Giang. The sea area of these provinces are rich in natural resources. Besides an abundance of various marine products, the area also has many types of valuable minerals that we have not yet been able to survey or exploit. The sea areas of these provinces have ports, large and medium-sized estuaries, islands, archipelagoes, and islets favorable for anchoring boats. Militarily, these are very favorable

conditions for stationing coastal defense forces. But these same conditions make it easy for the enemy to invade our territory and establish bases from which they can launch attacks against the mainland.

Thus, it can be affirmed that the sea areas of the provinces in the 9th Military Region are of great strategic importance with respect to both economics and national defense.

Starting from the above reality, the Military Region Command organized a conference to discuss the task of building and controlling the military region's sea area.

I think that organizing this conference had great practical meaning with respect to implementing and concretizing the party's resolutions on defending the fatherland in conjunction with building the country and turning the coastal provinces and districts into a strong defense zone based on a unified plan in accord with the military region's specific conditions. The conference satisfied the real and urgent demands concerning unifying understanding and formulating concrete leadership and guidance plans and measures in building and controlling the sea areas of the localities.

A new aspect of this conference was that the delegates attending the conference included party leaders, administrative chiefs, and heads of important sectors (military, public security, and coastal defense organizations) in the coastal provinces and districts and representatives of the Naval Zone 5 Command. Not only was this a correct use of the military region in implementing the party's new leadership mechanism with respect to solidifying national defense, but it was also a practical measure that contributed to manifesting the integrated strength of the dictatorship of the proletariat in carrying on economic and social development and defending the important areas of each locality and the entire military region.

The methods used to organize the conference were very flexible and practical, and they satisfied the requirements concerning building and controlling the sea areas of the localities. Based on the practices in building and controlling the sea areas and the fairly accurate ideas and proposals obtained from the bases, the military region composed an excellent report to help the delegates study things and contribute ideas. These ideas were then used to formulate a plan to build and control the military region's sea area in general and the sea areas of the coastal provinces and districts in particular. This method exploited the collective intelligence and the creative spirit and sense of responsibility of the various echelon party and administrative organizations and created great unanimity between the military region and the provinces and districts in organizing things to implement the tasks.

The conference focused on two problems: evaluating the results of building and controlling the sea area of the military region and provinces during the past period and determining the direction of the tasks and measures to

build and control the sea areas of the localities and military region in the coming period.

The situation in building and controlling the sea areas of the provinces and military region in the past period:

The delegates all agreed that during the past few years, building and controlling the sea areas of the coastal provinces and districts of the military region achieved initial results in developing the economy, culture, and society, solidifying national defense and security, and defeating the multi-faceted war of destruction of the enemy. But as compared with the requirements of building and controlling the sea areas of the localities in the new situation, there are still many problems that must be solved as soon as possible.

Economic, social, and cultural development in the coastal localities is not even, particularly in the remote coastal areas and on the islands. The standard of living in these areas is very low. It is much lower than that of the people who live in other areas in the same region. Education, culture, and public health have developed slowly. According to preliminary statistics, approximately 20 percent of the people in these six coastal provinces are illiterate. The work of rearranging the population in accord with the economic and social development plan and solidifying the national defense of each locality has been carried out slowly, and many difficulties have been encountered. Many areas such as the coastal islets and the islets in the estuaries, many of the islands, and long stretches of the coast are unpopulated. Kien Giang Province's sea area has approximately 105 islands, but about 63 are unpopulated.

One of the very difficult problems is that organizing, building, exploiting, managing, and gradually mastering the coastal areas is the management right of each locality. In recent years, there have frequently been disputes among the localities, production collectives, and private individuals about arable land, "ngheu" fields, shrimp beds, and fishing grounds. There have been many serious incidents, such as those in Thanh Phu in Ben Tre Province and in Long Phu in Hau Giang Province. But the localities have not taken quick action to resolve these disputes, and many of these incidents were not solved satisfactorily. Many localities have not controlled the population closely. More and more people are settling down in places illegally. In Song Doc, Tran Van Thoi, Minh Hai Province, about 473 households totaling more than 1,000 people have arrived in the locality from various provinces and settled down illegally. Another important problem is that the work carried on by the localities in controlling and exploiting the sea areas has exposed many weaknesses. The regulations on controlling and exploiting the sea in the localities and between the central echelon and the localities lack cohesion. The state has not yet fixed the sea boundaries between the provinces. As a result, the sea activities of the localities are very confused and almost impossible to control.

Let's look at the situation in the sea area of Kien Giang Province. Kien Giang's sea area is approximately 100,000 square km in size. There are approximately 105 islands of various sizes within this area. About 4,500 fishing, transport, and trading boats belonging to the the locality, the central echelon, and other provinces operate in this area. And Thai boats have been given permission to fish here in accord with the contracts signed. Because of the large amount of activity here, even though the local authorities have coordinated things with various forces and used many measures to control things and maintain order and security at sea, they have had little success. Cases of smuggling, theft, murder, fleeing to other countries, and encroachment by foreign boats in our territorial waters in order to trade and fish have occur frequently. In 1988, Kien Giang seized 41 foreign boats that had entered its sea area illegally. One of those boats was carrying 3 tons of opium, and two of the men on board were foreign nationals.

On the other hand, our fishing forces have failed to carry out the regulations of the state and localities strictly. They use explosives and spotlights to catch fish. They are concerned only about catching fish and do not give any attention to raising fish or protecting the environment or resources. The Kien Giang sea area is a black market where many types of contraband items are bought and sold. For example, the price of 1 kg of export shrimp in Ha Tien is approximately \$8. By the time the shrimp reach Phu Quoc the price has increased to about \$15. And on the open sea the price is even higher. As a result, everyone rushes there is search of profits.

From what we know, the same is true for the sea areas of Minh Hai, Hau Giang, and Ben Tre. This has had a very bad effect on the economic and social development and the national defense and security work of the coastal localities.

Guidelines, tasks, and specific measures to build and control the sea areas of the provinces and military region in the coming period:

The first thing is to build political bases and maintain order and security in the coastal provinces.

Building and controlling the sea areas of the coastal provinces concerns the sectors, echelons, and mass organizations. In order to carry out this work well, the important thing is to rely on the people. The lesson of relying on the people as the root, as pointed out by the Sixth Party Congress, must be understood thoroughly. Much attention must be given to educating the people, sectors, echelons, and armed forces about the two strategic tasks and about the important position of the sea areas in developing the economy and society and consolidating national defense. Special attention must be given to recognizing the evil plots of the enemy, elevating the people's spirit of vigilance, defeating the enemy's multi-faceted war of destruction, and being prepared in all situations. Democratic and open discussions must be held on every task and policy concerning

building and controlling the sea areas. Each person must be made to see clearly his responsibilities and rights, and each person must participate in building and controlling the sea area of his homeland.

In order to exploit the intelligence and labor strength of the masses and of the sectors and echelons in this work, the key problem is to increase the combat strength and leadership capabilities of the party committee echelons and the organizational and managerial capabilities of the various echelon authorities, particularly those at the village and subward level. This requires that we renovate organization and put good-quality cadres who have excellent organizational skills in managerial and control positions.

Along with building the political base, we must promote maintaining order and security at sea, along the coast, and on the mainland. In order to do this, the immediate thing is to formulate a number of measures; manage the population well, particularly in the key areas such as the coastal and island villages; solidify the people's security and people's military information network; register and control the people and means of entering, leaving, and working at sea and on the islands; and educate the people, sectors, echelons, and forces operating at sea about the laws and about the regulations concerning security at sea, on the islands, and along the coast. Under the command of a unified command section, the public security and border defense forces must coordinate things closely with the militia and self-defense forces, the local troops, and the naval forces in patrolling the area, checking people and means, preventing negative and illegal activities, and making preparations to counter the destructive actions of the enemy.

The basic problem in the sea area construction and management measures that the conference discussed at great length was the issue of coordinating economic, cultural, and social development with the task of solidifying national defense and security. This requirement must be carried out concretely in each element, from formulating plans, positions, and policies to implementing these things. The tendency to focus on one aspect and slight other aspects must be avoided. Based on a clear understanding of this viewpoint, the conference affirmed that the coastal localities must solve the following problems:

First, scientific and comprehensive studies and evaluations must be made concerning the geography, climate, geology, and population and the problems linked to solidifying national defense and security. Based on this, a comprehensive long-term plan and yearly economic and social development plans and plans to solidify national defense and security must be formulated in accord with the plan to build the districts, islands, and coastal provinces and turn them into a strong defense zone. Special attention must be given to investing in the coastal localities, but this must be investment concerning leadership and implementation measures, not material investment. These localities already have economic

potential, which we have failed to exploit. On the other hand, priority must be given to solidifying and expanding the road system and the means of communication and transportation. A services network must be organized, and commodities must be circulated even during the rainy season in order to gradually improve the material and spiritual lives of the people and gradually narrow the gap in living standards among the regions.

Second, population planning must continue to be carried out well. This is a major policy of strategic importance to both the economy and national defense. In order to continue carrying out this policy well, each locality must revise and supplement the plans and measures and rearrange the population, particularly in important areas such as the islands and coastal towns and cities. The plans to move people to the unpopulated or sparsely populated islands and coastal areas must be implemented. The important thing is that the people moved to settle down in these areas must have good political standards. The places to which they will be moved must be prepared well with respect to the material base and the minimum conveniences of life. They must be ensured of a relatively stable life right from the start. As for the islands, attention must be given to providing water for life and production, and measures must be implemented to maintain normal communications between the islands and between the islands and the mainland during the rainy season.

Another important task in coordinating economic development with the task of solidifying national defense is organizing the economic and national defense units of the districts and provinces such as Tien Giang and Kien Giang provinces and Phu Quoc Island.¹ The localities think that this model must be studied more, supplemented, and perfected and approved by the state.

In the new situation, in order to control and defend the sea areas of each locality well, an important problem is to build a sea area defense works in accord with the plan to build the defense zones of the coastal districts and provinces. This sea area defense works includes many elements: formulating combat plans and plans to maintain combat, building forces, building combat works, and so on. These things must be carried on gradually in accord with the plan to build a defense zone. In accord with the special characteristics and tasks of the coastal provinces, besides the common problems concerning building the defense zone, efforts must be concentrated on solving the following problems:

The coastal area must be built up and improved, and a strong defense works must be formed. This is a major policy that must be implemented over many years. In reality, the localities have been and are carrying out this policy in accord with the 5-year and yearly plans, but things must be adjusted in accord with the requirements of the new situation. Immediately, efforts must be concentrated on restoring the coastal forests that were destroyed, and varieties of plants suited to the land and climatic conditions in each locality, such as mangrove,

Avicennia marina, Brugulera gymnorhiza, and eucalyptus, must be planted. These types of plants all have economic value, and they can protect the environment, withstand flooding, improve the terrain and the land, prevent erosion, and provide support for taking back land from the sea. Over the long term, lines of defense will be formed that will help protect the villages and prevent enemy encroachment and attacks from the sea.

Along with planting trees and taking back land from the sea, the system of dikes to hold back the sea water must be solidified and expanded to form squares and an interlocking grid in each village, district, province, and inter-province area based on a unified plan from the localities to the central echelon.

Another important task is to consolidate and expand the marine and land communications network. The existing communications network must be solidified and expanded and turned into a perfect communications system that includes land and coastal routes, a system of river and sea routes, a system of canals and ditches connecting the villages, districts, and provinces, and communications routes that connect the mainland with the islands and that connect the islands with each other.

The above projects form the important infrastructure to support economic, cultural, and social development and the formation of defense lines and blocking systems to prevent enemy attacks. These will ensure the formation, deployment, and movement of forces in accord with the defense works to defend the locality now and over the long term. In order to complete these projects, human and material power must be invested by the sectors, echelons and people, and the self-reliance of each locality must be exploited in coordination with the guidance and help of the central echelon.

Over the long term, in addition to the measures mentioned above, there must be a complete plan to build defense lines at sea, along the coast, and on the islands. These must include various factors such as a system of battlefields, a system of passive defense works, a system of rear area bases, command and information systems, and so on based on the plans to build up the defense zones of the coastal districts, island districts, and coastal provinces.

Local armed forces must be organized. In order to fulfill the combat readiness requirements and the need for self-reliance in defending the locality, the conference proposed specific measures to build up the military and self-defense forces, the local forces, the people's public security forces, and the border defense forces. Of course, the localities must take responsibility for building and controlling the reserve forces that are mobilized and contribute to building the main-force units of the military region and ministry.

The militia and self-defense forces must be built in accord with the principle of maintaining quality and a rational level of strength in line with the economic management mechanism and the new forms of production organization.

Formalism must be avoided, as must running after percentages (numbers). Militia and self-defense forces can be built according to the following plan:

Along the coast, there should be two lines, the line of villages running along the coast and the line of rear villages in the coastal districts. On these lines, militia and self-defense units must be built based on the administrative and production units (village, hamlet, islet, and production unit).

At sea and on the islands, militia and self-defense units must be built based on the production units, such as naval groups and flotillas. These can be divided by area (line) in accord with the operational areas of the forces. Examples are remote ocean areas (approximately 200 nautical miles), medium-distance ocean areas (about 100 nautical miles), nearby sea areas, and coastal lines.

The forces on each line (area) must be equipped with weapons and means of command so that they can operate independently at sea and on the islands. There must be a command organization, and there must be close coordination between the forces on each line and between the lines in order to keep abreast of the situation and respond promptly based on unified command.

In order to make the militia and self-defense forces more self-sufficient and improve living conditions, many localities have given coastal land to the village military units (10-20 hectares) and hamlet military units (5-10 hectares) so that they can carry on production (raise fish and shrimp and grow crops), conduct patrols, and form a defense line around the perimeter. According to the delegates, this is a good measure. This must be studied in greater detail, and experiences must be exchanged.

The task of building and controlling the seas is not the responsibility of the coastal provinces and cities alone. This is tied to all the provinces and cities in the country. To enable the coastal localities to build and control their sea areas well, the conference made several proposals:

- 1. The state should conduct a study and soon formulate a sea strategy together with a system of plans, regulations, policies, and management mechanisms from the central echelon to the localities with the aim of building, controlling, and exploiting the sea areas of the country in general and of each locality in particular.**
- 2. The Council of Ministers should organize a symposium on building, managing, and exploiting the sea areas of the localities with the aim of unifying the laws and regulations on controlling and exploiting the sea and formulating specific measures, such as demarcating sea boundaries between provinces, in order to avoid disputes over "ngheu" and shrimp grounds, disputes that have actually occurred.**

Footnote

- 1. See QUAN DOI NHAN DAN, No 7, 1986 and QUOC PHONG TOAN DAN, No 5, 1989.**

SOCIAL**Social Policy Concerning VPA Mobilization**

*902E0122A Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese
27 Nov 89 p 3*

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Through several decades of continuous war to liberate and protect the fatherland while simultaneously fulfilling an international obligation in the fraternal countries of Cambodia and Laos on a foundation of undeveloped economy, the overall difficulties of the country and people cannot help but leave a mark on the social policy system. However, it is these very conditions that have increasingly clarified the principles and feelings of our Vietnamese people, and affirmed the great efforts of our cadres, compatriots, and soldiers who have and are overcoming a great many difficulties to assist in the task of protecting the fatherland by every means.

However, it must be admitted that the past few years have had problems in unsatisfactory policies on war invalids, the families of war dead, and military dependents which have emerged slowly and are still not resolved, therefore adversely affecting those now in the ranks. Additionally, new requirements have and are arising: providing jobs for discharged soldiers returning to the local area in large numbers; good work in the retirement of many cadres and troops; and caring for the lives and implementing standards of compensation for war invalids and the families of war dead, especially war invalids, the relatives of war dead who are old, weak and alone, and those newly returned from fulfilling their international obligations in Cambodia. In speaking of implementation of policies and systems dealing with those now in the ranks, there are also many diverse and irrational but still unresolved difficulties.

During a number of seminars on this issue, many extremely spirited and pressing proposals were made, such as increasing the rations of soldiers because their actual standard of living is below the minimum subsistence level of military laborers. Between the officers and the military specialists, workers, and national defense civil servants working in national defense enterprises, irrational points in policy still exist that must be adjusted and supplemented. It is necessary to eliminate discriminatory treatment between the college and middle-school educational system inside and outside the army, and between the military and civilian health systems, especially in providing advanced training in scientific knowledge. Vocational training should be provided for officers and men ending their time in the ranks. A suitable policy is necessary for motivating youths to follow a military profession to build succeeding officer ranks. Continue and urgently rationalize the salaries of officers to a level corresponding with those of leadership, command, specialized, and occupational labor in the army. Examine and analyze subsidies for soldiers during the 1960's in order to increase their present allowances.

The limited state budget and the shift from state-subsidized administration to socialist business accounting are obvious facts inseparable from the process of supplementing and implementing social policies. However, worthy of criticism is that a number of locations have allowed negative occurrences to creep in with even cases of corruption, clipping, and violation of the rights the people receive through policies, including those pertaining to war invalids and the families of war dead. This is not counting a number of demobilized soldiers, retired officers, and war invalid and war dead families who have, because of their resolute attitude to protect the truth, become objects of attack by primary level administrations and production organizations in not a few localities. Of importance is the need to move from unifying a comprehension and viewpoint on the issues of national defense and socialist fatherland protection before specific problems of related social policy can be solved. Concentration on building and developing the economy, shifting the strategic course to national defense, and reducing the standing army are not only not synonymous with lowering national defense but also demand more good and excellent implementation of more rational and logical social policies to continually build a powerful national defense.

People's Complaints to Higher Authorities Discussed

*902E0122B Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese
27 Nov 89 p 3*

[Text] Real Situation and Causes

Recently, many people have gone to party and state agencies at the central level to submit complaints. Groups of husbands, wives, and children and those composed of 60 to 70 and even 100 people with their representatives and supporters have come. They carry cooking pots, pans, grain, and food for a lengthy stay. They come up from Tien Giang, Thuan Hai, and Dong Nai, and down from Ha Son Binh, Hai Hung, and Haiphong. Their hope is to meet some high level leader to present their grievances. According to still incomplete statistics, during the first 6 months of 1989, more than 11,000 petitions and letters of complaint were sent to the State Inspection Commission, an increase of 3.3 percent over the same period last year (counting only those groups who directly complained to the central agencies. Hanoi also had nearly 90 cases with about 900 people). Of this number, about 70 percent of the cases fell within the purview of primary level sectors and echelons but were unresolved or unsatisfactorily resolved and failed to receive public sympathy.

What is the cause of this situation?

The foremost and also primary cause of the situation is that the people submitting these skip-echelon complaints have apparently lost confidence in the leaders of sectors and echelons at the primary level, the locations which, in

accordance with their jurisdiction, are the initial agencies in the system of state agencies examining and resolving their own cases and incidents. Why?

Through a search for clarification, the primary themes of these complaints involved land disputes among the people, between the people and cooperatives, and between cooperatives and state farms; housing disputes, often involving only a few square meters or a small path; complaints about the ownership of property impounded during different periods; charges against a number of cooperative cadres or agency and enterprise directors for degeneracy, corruption, taking bribes, misappropriation of socialist property, violation of the people's democratic rights, relying on authority and influence to oppress, suppress, and attack those daring to resist negativism, and supporting and sheltering members of their own clique. It would be a great deal easier and simpler if these cases and incidents were accurately and promptly resolved by primary level sectors and echelons. Recent practice has indicated that complaint examination has not received thorough concern and achievement from sector commanders and people's committee chairman, and many provisions in the Complaint Examination Regulation, promulgated on 27 November 1981, have not been followed.

The responsibility of primary level sectors and echelons is still to implement the resolved decisions of upper echelons but this task has not been executed precisely in accordance with the stipulations of the law. In an inspection at the end of 1988, the State Inspection Commission had 18 cases in Dong Nai, 12 in An Giang and 8 in Thai Binh in which decisions were made by provincial people's committee chairman but not carried out by lower echelons.

The second reason is that the law in general and regulations on complaint examination in particular have not reached every person, and the concept of respect for the law is not upheld. Primarily because of no or an erroneous understanding of their rights and responsibilities, the people making complaints have sent scores and even hundreds of petitions to different agencies of the party and state (including many agencies without jurisdiction) because they think in that way, the case or matter will be resolved more rapidly and that there is no need to depend on the administrative sectors and echelons at the primary level.

Meanwhile, education in a concept of the law has not been emphasized. The perception of many state agencies and primary level administrative echelons on complaint examination is incorrect. The laws serving as a legal

foundation for such work are repetitious, overlapping and in some cases excessively outmoded.

Methods of Overcoming the Problem

To overcome the abnormal situation in skip-echelon complaints, party committee echelons, sector commanders, and people's committee chairmen at all levels in the immediate future must emphasize strengthening and raising their concept of responsibility in this work. Successful achievement of complaint examination not only expresses the responsibility of the party and state for the people and assists in developing the collective ownership of the laboring people, but also expresses the political and spiritual closeness between the party, state, and people.

To achieve this, complaint examination must be revamped from petition acceptance to examination and resolution. On one hand, it is necessary to strengthen inspection and motivation of lower echelons in urgent and accurate resolution precisely as legally stipulated, especially cases and matters that have long been backlog; without nonspecific contracts and cursory or sketchy work. On the other hand, actions violating the Complaint Examination Regulation must be resolutely prosecuted and complaint examination and resolution agencies must be quickly revamped.

Examination and systemization of legal documents is necessary to assist in making complaint examination more convenient, rapid, and accurate, and to limit mistakes caused by methods of understanding the documents that are not unified.

The Complaint Examination Regulation (1981) must be studied, supplemented, and revised for consistency with the present situation, including further clarification of citizen responsibility in the use of complaint rights; and of the responsibility and rights of sectors and echelons in complaint resolution. Enforcement measures are needed to ensure effective complaint resolution and to stop the use of complaints for slander. Specific regulations are needed to restrict the application of petitions simultaneously to many different agencies and to end the occurrence of unlimited complaints.

Propaganda and education in the law in general and the Complaint Examination Regulation in particular must be strengthened. This is the overall responsibility of every sector, echelon, mass agency, and social organization, and also of every citizen, not just of the internal affairs sector. Better coordination is needed between sectors and echelons in this field.

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